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ABSTRACT

The history section of the Proceedings contains the following 13 papers: "Telling the Untold Story: An Examination of the History of the Religious Press in America" (Phyllis E. Alsdurf); "Dusting with a Ballot: The Portrayal of Women in the Milwaukee Leader" (Jon Bekken); "The Struggle to Control Motion Picture Advertising, 1921 to 1968" (Sharon E. Blum); "The Shark-Infested Waters off Cape Canaveral: An Oral History of the Early Media Coverage of Project Mercury" (Ginger Rudeseal Carter); "Woman as Citizen: An Ideological Analysis of Three Women's Publications, 1900-1910" (Janet M. Cramer); "Don Bolles: News Martyr of the 1970s, Enigma of the 1990s" (Kenneth C. Killebrew); "'The Courage to Call Things by their Right Names': Fanny Fern, Feminine Sympathy, and Feminist Journalism in the Nineteenth-Century American Popular Press" (Carolyn Kitch); "The Emergence of Religion Pages in Three Ohio Dailies: 1865-98" (Debra L. Mason); "'Who Was 'Shadow'?' The Computer Knows: Using Grammar-Program Statistics in Content Analyses Finally May Solve This Civil War Riddle and Other Writing Mysteries" (Barbara G. Ellis and Steven J. Dick); "The Caning of James Gordon Bennett, the Penny Press, and the Primordial Soup of Modern American Journalism" (David T. Z. Mindich); "The First College Journalism Students: Answering Robert E. Lee's Offer of a Higher Education" (Joseph A. Mirando); "'Books are Weapons': Books in Twentieth-Century Presidential Campaigns" (Priscilla Coit Murphy); and "The Reader as Consumer: Curtis Publishing Company and the Definition of Audience, 1910-1930" (Douglas B. Ward). (CR)

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Telling the Untold Story: An Examination of the History of the Religious Press in America

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ABSTRACT:

The history of the religious press in America is fragmentary and relatively unexamined as an area of historical study, especially in relation to changing social and cultural forces. This paper reviews the coverage of the religious press in standard journalism histories and scholarly journals and outlines the importance an application of a cultural studies approach could have for the study of the religious press.

The history of the religious press in this country has largely gone untold. It is a history that must be searched for in the nooks and crannies of journalism histories, pieced together from the category of "other" to which it has often been relegated. Consensus histories usually give a slight nod to the existence of religious publications, but there has not been any attempt to examine the religious press in this country as a whole and to consider its changing role in relationship to broader social and cultural themes.

This paper will offer a limited review of histories available on the religious press in this country, focusing primarily on the Protestant press. It will briefly consider the models of historical research that have been used in these histories and offer a modest proposal for future work in this area.

The Religious Press throughout American History

The religious press and topics of religious concern once figured more centrally in the content of mainstream media in this country than they do today. Journalism historian Frank Mott notes that in the first period of magazine publishing in this country, 1741 to 1794, five religious magazines were published and "religion furnished an important part of magazine contents. Most of the early magazines published sermons occasionally in some guise or other, and a few were devoted largely to homiletical literature. . . .There were many clerical contributions to general magazines, and heresies were pretty strictly banned."[1]

The next thirty years would mark "a prolific pèriod in the founding of religious magazines and in religious discussions in secular periodicals," Mott states, as publications both secular and religious responded to missionary enthusiasm, the Kentucky revivals and a perceived "torrent of infidelity."[2] Mott characterized the early 1800s as a period of "comparative prosperity" for religious weeklies and a time when "religious periodicals as a whole found a kinder welcome than the magazines of more general appeal."[3] The religious weekly newspapers competed with their secular counterparts, but differed in their "political neutrality" and focus on religious and denominational news.

By 1828 one listing of religious publications enumerated 28 religious monthlies and 73 weekly religious newspapers but omitted, according to Mott, "some of the most important."[4] And in 1840 the *Biblical Repository* claimed that "of all the reading of the people three-fourths is purely religious...of all the issues of the press three-fourths are theological, ethical and devotional."[5] From 1865 to 1885 the number of religious publications doubled in number to over 650, with a surprisingly large number of religious weeklies, according to Mott.

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[1] Mott, Frank Luther, A History of American Magazines, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), 56.

[2] Ibid., 132.

[3] Ibid., 138-9.

[4] Ibid., 370.

[5] Ibid.

> Most large cities had several of these papers: by 1869 fourteen cities had three or more apiece. Though in both aggregate number and total circulation they fell far below the secular newspaper press, they did not, as a rule, fall below it in ability; and they possessed a formidable power."[6]

After the Civil War, the religious press consisted of reviews which were published monthly or quarterly and were "devoted largely to theology and scholarship" and the weekly newspapers that covered more general news," although the "rise of the great dailies crowded the religious weekly out of the news field."[7] It was a period of lively, and often acrimonious, debate between religious publications and some discussion as to whether religion and journalism were even compatible. After a religious journal attacked the Atlantic's theology, its editor, James Russell Lowell, labelled the religious press "a true sour-cider press, with belly-ache privileges attached."[8]

Although the 1890s marked the beginning of a decline in the influence of religious publications, religious issues continued to be discussed in general interest magazines. Mott notes that debates over evolution, the existence of hell and the religious revivals were covered by the popular press.[9] Religion may have been losing its hold as a cultural force, but it would continue to figure centrally in the public square. Thus, in 1908 it was considered perfectly acceptable when Walter Williams, founder and dean of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, delivered a speech entitled, "The Bible: A Textbook for Journalists." The address became so popular it was given several times and eventually was published in pamphlet form.

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[6] Mott, History of American Magazines, vol. 3 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 67.

[7] Ibid., 63, 66.

[8] Ibid., 65.

[9] Ibid., 85-6.

Speaking to the Iowa State Press Association, Williams called the Bible "the best text-book I know on journalism" and "a model of good journalism."[10] Moses, he said, was "the first great editor," Luke, "the best reporter whose works I have read," and the Apostle Paul, "the best special correspondent."[11] Liberally sprinkling his remarks with Scriptural quotations and references to biblical personalities, Williams made his case for the link between good journalism and a faith in God. He stated:

> From an intimate acquaintanceship with newspaper men, I can say with confidence that in journalism there are few, if any, men who have not an abiding faith in the Fatherhood of God. They may not attend your churches as they should; they may sometimes speak lightly of ceremonials and creeds; they may appear affected with modern indifference; they may criticize the sermons of the yellow pulpit. But you will find, if you know newspaper men as I know them, that they have the highest reverence for holy things, the most sincere faith in a personal God, not a mere absentee First Cause. Fundamental to good journalism is keeping the faith; faith in God and faith in man.[12]

One would be hard pressed to find a serious journalist or practitioner of religion today who would speak so glibly about the merits of such a union. The kind of religious patriotism that Williams espoused would not be viable or desirable in the pluralistic culture of our times. But, in the last one hundred years, with the erecting of an ever-more-firm wall of separation between church and state, the religious dimension often has been excised from public debate by the secular media. A corollary to that compartmentalization has been the viewing of the religious press as nothing more than a quaint carry-over from an earlier era, a period far back in the developmental scheme of things. The religious press has been considered by many in the field of mass communications as a marginal player with little import to anyone but those "singing in the choir."

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[10] Williams , Walter, "The Bible: A Text-Book for Journalists," pamphlet, 1936, 1, 5.

[11] Ibid., 3, 4.

[12] Ibid., 9.

Whether or not it has relevance to the wider world, the religious press is a topic worthy of scholarly consideration, if for no other reason, because of its persisting presence on the journalistic scene. Some of its many publications have been short-lived and small in circulation, to be sure, but when examined as a whole, the religious press offers an illuminating reflection of changing social and cultural forces.

The Religious Press Today

Today the umbrella of the religious press covers upwards of 2500 periodicals.[13] Obtaining precise numbers is, of course, a challenge not only because every fledgling ministry, parachurch group, religious program or church organization has a publication of some sort, but also because defining "religious" is not clear-cut. There is often considerable overlap between religious identity and political, cultural and ethnic identity, for instance, and it is difficult to determine where one category ends and another begins. For instance, is a "New Age" publication more of a general interest lifestyle publication or does it fit into the religious category? Or, does a magazine about Judaism deal more with a cultural and ethnic group than it does with religious concerns?

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[13] Lippy, Charles, ed., Religious Periodicals of the United States (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1986), vii.

Because the focus of this study is the Protestant press, a consideration of the membership of the two largest Protestant press associations in the country gives a general sense of the size of this subset of the religious press. The Evangelical Press Association has 350 member publications and an estimated combined readership of 20 million. The 47-year-old organization has seen steady growth since its beginnings. In 1970, for instance, the EPA had 176 members. Last year 25 new members were added to its rosters, but EPA Director Ron Wilson says this is no where near the number of evangelical Christian publications in existence. "Every organization, ministry, and para-church ministry has its own publication these days," he stated, noting that the biggest area of growth in religious publications is in regional or local Christian newspapers. Wilson estimates that 40 or 50 such publications now exist in this country.

The Associated Church Press, which draws its membership from the mainline Protestant denominations (Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Episcopal, Congregational), has experienced a decrease in membership in recent years, according to its director John Stapert. The 80-year-old organization reached a high point of membership in 1990 with 200 member publications. In 1994 its membership was down to 183 publications with a combined circulation of 9 and a half million. Stapert who represents the ACP, EPA and five other religious press associations with regard to postal concerns, estimates that the combined memberships of these organizations is between 1200 and 1300 publications.

One wonders how such a large number of publications could be overlooked as a worthwhile object of study. Their very existence raises important questions for the field of journalism history. For instance, what is their cultural significance and how has it been assessed at pivotal moments of social change? In what ways has the role and influence of these publications changed over time? What kinds of readers have comprised their subscription bases? In what ways do these publications differ from their non-religious counterparts at various points in time?

In recent years the power and political clout that religious groups have wielded has come as a surprize to many analysts. Perhaps if the religious press were given more systematic historical consideration, however, such might not be the case. For instance, the fact that the "new" Christian Right emerged as a powerful political bloc in the 1980s would have caught no one off guard who had been monitoring its many publications. A case in point is *Focus on the Family* , a 16-page, glossy magazine that was founded in 1977 by Dr. James Dobson and his Focus on the Family ministry. The publication, which today has a circulation of over 2 million, functions as a support piece for the Focus on the Family daily radio program, aired on 1,800 stations in the United States, as well as many more in other countries. Focus on the Family is a non-profit organization, headquartered in Colorado Springs, Colorado, which employs 900 people in its 53 different ministries. It publishes nine magazines in addition to *Focus on the Family* : *Citizen*, *Physician*, *Teachers in Focus*, *Parental Guidance*, *Youthwalk*, *Brio*, *Breakaway*, *Clubhouse* and *Clubhouse Jr.* The titles alone indicate the breadth of the group's influence--teachers, doctors, political activists, youth, children, parents are all part of its audience.

The organization's stated purpose is to "stabilize families in our society" by upholding the Christian mission, the marital bond, the value of children and the sanctity of life. Focus on the Family is closely linked to the Family Research Council, a Washington, D.C. lobby group headed by conservative powerbroker Gary Bauer which began to flex its political muscle in the first 100 days of the current Congress. Despite the centrality of magazine publishing to the furthering of the organization's social and political mission, no journalistic study has been done on Focus on the Family. Its several publications are not alone, however, among those which have for the most part been ignored as a focus of academic analysis.

The Religious Press in Standard Journalism Histories

To get a sense of how religious journalism has been covered in standard journalism histories, a few of the germinal texts in the field have been surveyed to determine the treatment given to religious publications.

The most comprehensive coverage was found in the oldest text under consideration. In his Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1872, Frederic Hudson devotes a nineteen-page chapter to the religious press. His central concern is validating the publication date and location of the first religious newspaper in the United

States. He excerpts at length the autobiography of Nathaniel Willis, in order to authenticate Willis' right to be called the "father of religious journalism" through the establishment of the Boston *Recorder* in 1816. Hudson also presents evidence provided by the family of Sidney Edwards Morse, Willis' first editor, that Morse deserved the laurels. Deciding the question of origins is the foremost historical concern for Hudson and he provides a useful early history in that regard. With his lengthy excerpts of pertinent documents he also creates an important history of record.

Hudson's comments about the religious press in general are also revealing:

> Since 1814-16, when the two *Recorders* made their appearance as wonderful innovators on the religious customs of the people, this class of journals have sprung into existence in endless numbers in every direction, and pinned to every faith. Some have reached long lives, as those we have mentioned. Others, like hundreds and hundreds of secular papers, have been strangled in infancy by the public.[14]. . . .The organs of the Catholics, of the Episcopalians, of the Jews, of the Mormons, of the Spiritualists, of the Swedenborgians, are numerous, and able and influential, with thousands of readers and believers.[15]. . . .There were two hundred and seventy-seven religious periodicals published in the United States in 1860. Three hundred and thirty or forty are issued now. There are probably 100,000,000 copies printed annually.[16]

Hudson's chapter on the religious press is followed by another on the New York *World* and "its religious character." What the publishers of the World wanted, Hudson tells us, was "a daily moral paper" designed "to shut out wretched criminal police reports, to ignore the slander-suits and prurient divorce cases; not to shock the public with the horrid details of murders, but to give the news, such as ought to satisfy any reasonable being--indeed, it was to publish a paper conducted on high moral principles, excluding advertisements of theatres, as the *Tribune* for a time had done; excluding all improper matter, as the *Times* for a time had done; and giving all the news, as the *Herald* always had done."[17]

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[14] Hudson, Frederic, Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1872 (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1873), 300-301.
[15] Ibid., 302.
[16] Ibid., 305.

Hudson relates how this effort failed because by ignoring the facts of the day, under the motto of "Principles with Principal, or nothing," the *World* only frustrated its audience. "No better men than the originators of this paper every lived," Hudson states. "They wished to inculcate sound principles and sound morals among the masses. Their intentions were excellent, but difficult to carry out."[18] Thus, the World changed hands and became "a worldly *World*," he cleverly concludes. In his later history of American magazines, Frank L. Mott comments on "a natural antagonism" that often occurs between journalists and clergy who function as editors, noting in particular Hudson's "facetious tone, not untouched with gentle scorn."[19]

If Hudson is guilty of speaking of the religious press in less than respectful terms, James Melvin Lee is even more at fault in his History of American Journalism, published in 1923. He acknowledges the religious character of the news the colonists received from England in his introduction and then devotes four pages to religious daily newspapers. Contrary to Hudson's findings, Lee labels *The North American* in Philadelphia, first published in 1839, as the first distinctly religious daily newspaper. With its ban on advertisements from theatres and saloons the paper was short-lived and was sold to new owners intent on "getting the news first."[20] With tongue in cheek, Lee relates the "temporary eclipse" of the New York *Sun*, when the editor, "an able, but fanatical, newspaper man, laboring under the delusion that he acted under the direction and guidance of the Lord in answer to prayer" decided to publish a daily religious newspaper. He and a wealthy clergyman "decided that the Lord needed a newspaper of his own in New York City," Lee relates. The *Sun* refused ads for liquor, cigars, theatres and other irreligious goods, a policy that soon led to the paper's sale and reorganization.

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[17] Ibid., 667.

[18] Ibid., 668.

[19] Mott, vol. 3, 65.

Lee also recounts the beginnings of the New York *World*, "a one-cent religious daily newspaper" that was advertised "extensively in the religious press and in the back part of church hymnals."[21] Within a year it too had merged with another paper and dropped the religious aspect. "Two hundred thousand dollars were spent in this second attempt to give New York a religious daily newspaper. The paper then became a worldly World," Lee quips using Hudson's exact wording but giving him no credit.[22]

In his classic, American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960, Frank Luther Mott gives scant coverage to the religious press. He devotes a paragraph to religious newspapers in his Party Press section, five lines to denomination publications under the heading "class periodicals," makes mention of the "experiment in mildly evangelical journalism" with the New York *Sun* and concludes his section on the press from 1872 to 1892 by noting that religious newspapers "unable to keep up in the race for general news, tended to become, shortly after the Civil War, either organs of denominational news on the one hand, or journals of opinion on the other."[23]

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[20] Lee, James Melvin, History of American Journalism (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923), 267.
[21] Ibid., 269.
[22] Ibid.

Mott's five-volume History of American Magazines, on the other hand, gives thorough coverage to religious periodicals, especially in the first three volumes. His massive work is without a doubt the best historical record we have of religious publishing and lays the initial groundwork for future studies of a more particular nature.

In addition to devoting 17 pages of general history to religious publications in Volume 1, Mott treats a dozen religious publications in depth through separate sketches of them. Volume 2, covering the period from 1850 to 1865, includes a 16-page section on the religious press and reference throughout to the response of the religious press to issues such as war, novels, politics, etc. Mott covers the religious press by denominational category and offers individual sketches of eight religious publications.

In Volume 3 of his series, Mott devotes a 27-page chapter to the religious press and includes discussion of periodicals devoted to spiritualism and philosophical inquiry. The *Catholic World, Old and*

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[23] Mott, Frank Luther, American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960, 3rd ed. (New York: McMillan Co., 1962), 513.

New, Outlook, Southern Review and the *Unitarian Review* are among those publications to which he gives separate treatment. Volume 4 covers the religious press during the Gilded Age (1885-1905) with the rise of the New Thought movement and the emergence of religious monthlies ranging from Christian Scientist publications to the *Christian Socialist* . The shrinking number of pages Mott devotes to the religious press in this volume is indicative, perhaps, of an assumption about religion's diminishing importance in the culture at large.

Mott died before the final books of this series could be completed, and the fifth volume includes no general history and only those sketches of individual publications he had completed, none of which were religious in nature. (Mott had planned a sketch on *Christian Century* magazine, according to his daughter's editorial note.) In keeping with a linear, progressive perspective--a sort of "survival of the fittest" mentality--Mott allocates few pages to the religious press in his later volumes. Religion has fallen by the wayside, it appears, as the press becomes more forward-thinking, objective and professional. These are all unstated assumptions on Mott's part, but they do influence the issues and publications that receive attention.

In his essay "Unfinished Story," Mott reveals something of his own purpose in writing this series:

> There is...what I am wont to think of as "grand history," which deals with epic movements of people or elucidates the meaning of a series of great events. But, among the various types, there is also a humble kind of history that Moses Hadas recently called "ancilla," and Justin Winsor once referred to (in describing his own work) as "shreds-and-patches history." This

> is the category in which my work belongs--though I am encouraged to think that I have, here and there, helped to define patterns of thought (and sometimes lack of thought) in the American past.[24]

Mott's histories of American magazines have been labelled "a sort of syllabus of our cultural history," and with regards to religious publications, they do establish a general framework from which a developmental approach can be understood.[25] Mott does not examine the interplay of religious influences and the press or the impact of theological considerations on the development of the press. But in the 3,000-plus pages of Mott's histories one can find nuggets about the religious press that are as close as one will probably come to a gold mine of specific information on the subject. In light of the Herculean task Mott undertook in this project and the important foundation in press history that was laid by his efforts, he cannot be faulted for failing to take the task the next step further.

In The Press and America, now in its seventh edition, Michael Emery and Edwin Emery paint the history of journalism with the kind of broad brush strokes that a general overview of the entire discipline perhaps necessitates. In so doing, the authors give the religious press the most cursory coverage and make little mention of the role of religion, even in the press's infancy. Relating history from a liberal, materialistic perspective, the authors include a page-long section on the contemporary religious press which highlights a range of religious publications among the 1700 being published by 1970.

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[24] Mott, A History of American Magazines, vol. 5 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 350.
[25] Ibid., xiv.

The Magazine in America, 1741-1990 by John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman has a more narrow focus than the Emery text and considers magazines within a cultural context. While not purporting to be a history of the religious press in particular, the book does present the religious press as a fluid entity. The authors address the diverse roles of religious publications and appear to recognize religion as relevant to discussions of many aspects of press history. Their introduction to a case study of *Christian Century* magazine illustrates an effort to give religious publications serious treatment. The authors state:

> A survey of intellectual currents between the wars would not be complete without at least a brief mention of religious magazines--brief because to address the subject, in all its multifaith complexities, would require far more space than can be given it here. A single case history cannot stand for all, of course, but if may illustrate how the Protestants, at least, through the ecumenical *Christian Century*, confronted the intellectual issues of the times.[26]

Perspectives on American Religious History

While certain scholars of American religion have concluded that the cultural influence of religion in America has not been merely one of decline since the Colonial period, their perspectives have not been systematically applied to the study of the religious press. Patricia Bonomi, for instance, takes issue with the pervasive impression that American religion was by the 18th century already in a state of decline. The "dark theme of declension" which, she says, "casts a shadow over the entire history of colonial religion" provides an inadequate model for understanding the role of religion during that and subsequent periods in American history.[27] She notes that while the "idiom of religion" no longer penetrates all discourse within society, religion continues to occupy a larger place in American culture than it does in most other western societies.[28]

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[26] Trebbel, John and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, The Magazine in America, 1741-1990 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 223.

Similarly, R. Laurence Moore, noting that "in 1991 90 percent of all Americans identified themselves as religious," questions why religion is so often compartmentalized or marginalized.[29] Rather than declining in influence, he contends that within a commercial culture, religion has become another commodity, one which its peretrators often have inventively marketed and which has "satisfied many buyers."[30] States Moore:

> Many narratives of American history firmly consign religion to the private sphere, something occasionally interesting when supportive of a progressive social philosophy but otherwise best left out of the account. In my opinion no centrally important cultural component of American life is more regularly neglected in synthetic accounts of American history than religion.[31]

In his examination of popular religious belief in early New England, David Hall rejects the notion that New England Puritans "exemplified a total or a perfect faith" or that religion during this period or any other is best understood in terms of edicts from the clergy or by merely counting church membership roles. Hall affirms the legitimacy of "horse-shed" Christianity or more popular religious expressions than those that occur within the confines of the meetinghouse. Religion during that period more properly understood, he states, was "a loosely bounded set of symbols and motifs that gave significance to rites of passage and life crises, that infused everyday events with the presence of the supernatural."[32]

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[27] Bonomi, Patricia, Under the Cope of Heaven (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 7.

[28] Ibid., 3.

[29] Moore, R. Laurence, Selling God (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 4.

[30] Ibid., 10.

[31] Ibid., 9.

America's religious past is a complex one, claims Jon Butler, one which "reflects processes of growth and development far removed from a traditional 'Puritan' interpretation."[33] Also focusing his study on popular religion, Butler states that religious eclecticism was more of a shaping force in American society than Puritanism. He concludes that "the story of religion in America after 1700 is one of Christian ascension rather than declension--Christianization rather than dechristianization--and of a Christianity so complex and heterogeneous as to baffle observers and adherents alike."[34]

The perspectives of historians of American religion such as the ones briefly summarized here give new urgency to the importance of studying the religious press in light of a more nuanced understanding of religion's role in American culture. The "declension" paradigm of religion seems to have dominated most progressive histories of the press without a systematic examination of the assumptions upon which that view is built. Such methodological weaknesses in journalism histories no doubt have contributed to the relegating of the religious press to the periphery of research concerns.

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[32] Hall, David, Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 18.
[33] Butler, Jon, Awash in A Sea of Faith (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 2.
[34] Ibid.

Journalism Histories and Historical Methods

Journalism historian John Nerone contends that one of the misleading aspects of the "standard plot of journalism history," a plot that tells the story from the top down, is its failure "to connect developments in 'journalism' with developments in related media, such as scientific, religious, and literary publications."[35] He identifies three weaknesses from which journalism histories suffer, all of which have been especially detrimental to an adequate understanding of the religious press. He cites a "present-mindedness" by which "scholars are interested primarily in finding the ancestors of the contemporary media in the past. This focus on the present in the past has hampered broad study of the cultural significance of the press in the past."[36]

The whiggishness of much journalism history, says Nerone, has led to "disproportionate attention" being paid to publications "notorious for their longevity." The result has been a failure to seriously consider or recognize the cultural significance of "the overwhelming majority of early journals" that were failures.[37]

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[35] Nerone, John, "A Local History of the Early U.S. Press: Cincinnati, 1793-1848," in Ruthless Criticism, ed. William Solomon and Robert McChesney (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 40.

[36] Ibid., 38-39.

[37] Ibid., 39.

Finally, Nerone chides journalism historians for their "topical compartmentalization," studying newspapers apart from periodicals and giving separate treatment to "literary and religious, scientific, and reform publications. . . .Yet the development of the press in all these areas is more aptly treated as a single historical phenomenon."[38]

Scholars who are only looking to find "ancestors of the contemporary media in the past" have failed to recognize the cultural significance of the religious press in the past because it has not been a central player on the journalistic scene for some time. By giving disproportionate attention to successful (i.e. long-lived) publications, scholars have failed to recognize the social role of religious publishing in the culture, how it has intersected with religious movements or its development within a wider cultural context, including changing political and legal systems.

According to Nerone, these weaknesses are all rooted in a failure to recognize that a medium is "something in between other things. A medium is a set of relationships within a social and cultural ecology....the proper unit of study is not the individual medium, but the whole set of media within a particular ecology."[39]

The history of the religious press which has been told to date could for the most part best be categorized as descriptive history, one which "basically lists salient features over time."[40] In the past decade more interpretative or explanatory research has been forthcoming, histories which emphasize content and address the reasons behind those salient features. But, as historians John Stevens and Hazel Dicken Garcia note, the dissecting of media into isolated parts obscures commonalties, inhibits the development of strong conceptual frameworks and diverts attention from media-society relationships.

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Stevens, John and Hazel Dicken Garcia, Communication History (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980), 16.

The history of the religious press has suffered in particular from this approach. For rather than being progressive, the development of the religious press in some respects could be considered regressive. Thus, a linear view which "assumes each subsequent event is an improvement" is an inadequate model for understanding the religious press. "Viewing the past as a linear progression dictates a narrow investigative pattern," Stevens and Dicken Garcia charge. "It also predisposes a researcher to look for events in a straight line over time, and it produces data construed to fit foregone conclusions....It describes characteristics instead of analyzing principles. And it focuses on uniqueness rather than continuity, complexity, disjunction, or change."[41]

Histories of the religious press that can be extracted from general journalism histories are illustrative, for the most part, of a Whig interpretation. Time-bound events are examined according to universal principles from a linear and progressive perspective. "Based in a conflict paradigm of (liberal) good versus (conservative) evil, this portrayal dominates journalism history some twenty years after other historians have moved away from it," Stevens and Dicken

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[41] Ibid., 40.

Garcia contend.[42] Such a paradigm would quite obviously put the religious press (conservative evil) in a disadvantaged position from the onset.

The Religious Press in the Journals

"The religious press is a neglected area for research by communications scholars," David Sumner began a 1989 *Journalism Quarterly* article, a case study of diocesan newspapers of the Episcopal Church. "[N]o published research, to my knowledge, has ever focused on issues related to the religious press."[43] While Sumner overstates the case, looking for research on the religious press in scholarly mass communications journals, will not yield much fruit.

From 1966 to 1994, *Journalism Monographs* published two issues related to the religious press (Gilbert A. Williams, "The Role of the Christian Recorder in the African Emigration Movement, 1854-1902, April 1989; and Barbara Straus Reed, "The Antebellum Jewish Press: Origins, Problems, Functions," June 1993) and another which fits under the category of religion and the press more generally (David Paul Nord, "The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America, 1815-1835," May 1984).

Since it began in 1924, *Journalism Quarterly* has published 25 articles dealing with some aspect of religion and the media. Of those, only nine have dealt specifically with religious publications.

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[42] Ibid., 43.

[43] Sumner, David, "The Religious Press: A Case Study," *Journalism Quarterly*, 1989, 721.

Occasionally other mass communications journals publish articles on the religious press. For instance, the spring summer 1989 issue of *Media History Digest* featured several articles on the religious press, including "When Christ Was Editor in Kansas," "Christian Century: History Front Pew," "Jewish Newspapers in America," and "Early Black Religious Press: Christian Recorder." And Judith M. Buddenbaum's article on the religious journalism of James Gordon Bennett was published in the summer autumn 1987 issue of *Journalism History*.

In a paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Journalism Historians Association in 1993, Julie H. Williams argued that the Puritans, contrary to some characterizations, valued free expression "within the boundaries of godly expression." "Although historians sometimes jump to the conclusion that the Puritans had no interest in free expression, the Puritans' printed works show toleration and encouragement of free speech and free press within certain limits," Williams stated in "America's Puritan Press, 1630-1690: The Value of Free Expression." Basing her research on an examination of hundreds of tracts, pamphlets, books and broadsides rather than just on the court records of free speech cases, Williams was able to contextualize the Puritan limits on free expression.

David Paul Nord's research on the relationship between the country's religious roots and the development of the press perhaps offers one of the best example of good scholarship in this area. His *Journalism Monographs* publication in 1984, "The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America, 1815-1835," links the development of mass distribution techniques used by Bible and tract societies in the early 1800s to the emergence of mass media in America. Similarly, Nord's article "The Authority of Truth: Religion and the John Peter Zenger Case," which appeared in a 1985 *Journalism Quarterly*, looks at the religious roots of the concept of freedom of expression. The dispute in the case hinged on the issue of truth and "how truth is revealed to man," Nord asserted. "Religion lay beneath the surface and between the lines of the Zenger case."[44]

Nord's later essay, "Teleology and News: The Religious Roots of American Journalism, 1630-1730," offers the type of cultural analysis that is missing from the treatment of the religious press in standard journalism histories. Like Williams, Nord gets into the mind set of New England Puritan culture in order to understand the world view out of which the first definition of news emerged. "All four of the defining elements of news were shaped by the belief that everything happened according to God's perfect plan," states Nord.[45] (10).

That approach parallels the work of Gerald Baldasty in The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century. In this study Baldasty argues that news is "a social construct rather than an undistorted reflection of what occurs in the world" and chronicles how changing definitions of news in the nineteenth century reflect "the changing economic base of the press from a political one to a commercial one."[46] Nord, likewise, considers news as a social construct, one that in the seventeenth century was wedded to a teleological world view.

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[44] Nord, David Paul, "The Authority of Truth: Religion and the John Peter Zenger Case," *Journalism Quarterly*, Summer 1985, 227.

[45] Nord, "Teleology and News: The Religious Roots of American Journalism, 1630-1730," *The Journal of American History*, June 1990, 10.

[46] Baldasty, Gerald, The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 6.

A Cultural Studies Approach

One substream of journalism history is cultural studies, the objective of which, according to media scholar James Carey, is "not so much to answer our questions as. . . to understand the meanings that others have placed on experience. . . to enlarge the human conversation by comprehending what others are saying."[47] Research such as Nord's study of teleology and news in 17th century New England enlarges the human conversation because it "listens" to the participants of history rather than imposing a meaning upon them.

Carey offers cultural studies as a means by which "multiple realities" or "several cultural worlds in which people simultaneously exist" can be understood.[48] This approach does not attempt to explain human behavior in terms of "the laws that govern it or to dissolve it into the structures that underlie it." Rather, says Carey, understanding human meanings is the goal.

Carey delineates some of the differences between the transmission view of communication, which has "dominated American thought since the 1920s," and the ritual view, which, although the older of the two perspectives, has been "a minor thread in our national thought."[49] Central concerns under the transmission view of communication are disseminating news and knowledge, transmitting messages for purposes of control, and the technology of communication. Words like "imparting," "sending," and "transmitting," are descriptive of this view, says Carey.[50]

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[47] Carey, James, Communication As Culture (New York: Routledge, 1989), 61-2.
[48] Ibid., 65, 67.
[49] Ibid., 18.

Under the ritual view of communication, central concerns are the maintenance of society, the representing of shared beliefs, and drawing people together in community. News, here, is seen as "drama" rather than information. "It does not describe the world," says Carey, "but portrays an arena of dramatic forces and action; it exists solely in historical times; and it invites our participation on the basis of our assuming, often vicariously, social roles within it."[51] Words like "sharing," "participation," "association," and "fellowship," characterize this view.[52]

The 19th-century drive to use communication as a means of controlling wider markets and greater populations contrasts starkly with the ritual view which "conceives communication as a process through which a shared culture is created, modified, and transformed."[53] With the emergence of a cultural studies approach in the 1960s and '70s, questions began to be raised in communications studies about whether the emphasis on laws of behavior, persuasion, attitude change, and behavior modification were sufficient to explain the complexity of communication. A shift in viewing communication as more ritual than transmission had begun to take place.

Because of society's "obsessive commitment to a transmission view of communication," says Carey, we are "coerced by our traditions into seeing it as a network of power, administration, decision, and control--as a political order" and we see society in terms of "property, production, and trade--an economic order." What we are missing is an emphasis on "aesthetic experience, religious ideas, personal values and sentiments, and intellectual notions."

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[50] Ibid., 15.
[51] Ibid., 21.
[52] Ibid., 18.
[53] Ibid., 43.

For Carey, the study of "communications" is too narrow a concern because it is "isolated from the study of literature and art, on the one hand, and from the expressive and ritual forms of everyday life--religion, conversation, sport--on the other." Cultural studies, then, with its anthropological emphasis on "the study of an entire way of life" replaces communication studies "which directs us to the study of one isolated segment of existence."[54]

It is no wonder that journalism histories which have fit so neatly within a transmission model of communication have missed almost entirely the role and importance of the religious press within the wider cultural context. It points to what church historian Martin Marty has called the "invisibility" of the Protestant press. "Hardly anyone outside the denominations or, occasionally, the interest groups represented, sees any of these periodicals," he states. "The Protestant press is in a paradoxical situation. To the public it is largely invisible. To Protestantism it is furiously active and ever-present."[55]

Carey and Clifford Christians offer guidelines for doing competent qualitative research of a cultural studies sort. In order to

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[54] Ibid., 42.

[55] Marty, Martin, et al., The Religious Press in America (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1963), 14, 16.

"interpret the interpretations" by which people live, researchers must aim for naturalistic observation, becoming immersed in the symbolic world and learning to think in the "foreign language" of those being studied. Furthermore, such an approach requires the researcher to become a "master of context," one who is able to penetrate the historical setting.[56] Reducing the distance between "imposed concepts and those employed by the people being studied" is the goal of this type of research, Carey and Christians note. Qualitative research that follows these guidelines should lead to a discovery of "an integrating scheme within the data themselves."[57]

The history of the religious press lends itself particularly well to this form of analysis. As a cultural "text" it brings together two powerful and complex societal institutions: the church and the media. A cultural analysis approach to the history of the religious press will surely lead to important insights on the order of those David Paul Nord and Julie Williams have discovered as they have attempted to"listen" to the common culture of 17th century New England.

Communications research that considers the "multiple realities" within which people exist will look at the religious press as part of a wider cultural network. The religious press needs to be understood not as a static institution but rather, studied over time to learn more about its relationship to changing cultural, social and religious trends.

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[56] Christian, Clifford and James Carey, "The Logic and Aims of Qualitative Research," in Research Methods in Mass Communication, edited by Guido H. Stempel III and Bruce H. Westley (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1989), 365.

[57] Ibid., 370, 373.

There is room for much exploration in this vast, uncharted territory. Among the many research questions await further exploration are the following: In what ways have religious publications been allies of political stability? Geographically how have levels of religious intensity varied and been reflected in regional religious publications? How and at what points was the move from religious content in general interest publications to separate religious publications made? What was the response of the church to the emergence of the "Sunday papers"? What was the impact of the depressions of 1818, 1838 and 1929 on the religious press? What was the role of the clergy in the Moral War against James Gordon Bennett and the New York Herald? In what way did the character of religious publicatons change from the late 1700s to the 1850s? Why were attempts to publish "Christian" daily newspapers so short-lived? How were the cultural tensions of the 1920s and 1930s reflected in the religious press of that era?

It is no wonder that most of the standard journalism histories--driven by a progressive, transmission view of history--have marginalized the religious component of society and consequently the religious press. But religious considerations fit much more comfortably within the context of a ritual view of communication whereby community, shared beliefs and maintenance of society are foregrounded. The time is ripe for further attempts to "enlarge the human conversation" by exploring that multifarious entity, the religious press.

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APPENDIX

Selected Studies of the Religious Press: An Annotated Bibliography

Apart from a half-dozen books on the craft of writing for religious publications (Church and Newspaper by William Norton, 1930; Out of the Hell-Box by Irwin St. John Tucker, 1945; Interpreting the Church Through Press and Radio and Careers in Religious Journalism by Roland Wolseley, 1951, 1955; Christian Journalism for Today by Benjamin Browne, 1952; and The Printed Word by Dewi Morgan and Michael Perry, 1969) there have been few book-length treatments of the Protestant religious press. Following are some of the pertinent titles, listed chronologically by publication date, in this area.

The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1848 by John R. Bodo (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954). A study of patriotism and the American Protestant clergy. Only tangential reference is made to publications in this study of the dream to establish an American theocracy.

The Religious Press in America by Martin Marty et al. (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1963). Marty takes the Protestant press to task for its withdrawal from the public sphere and does not offer a history of the religious press as much as an examination of the religious press in relationship to culture. "The Protestant churches deserve a self-critical press; the national community would be better served by one," Marty concludes. "If [the Protestant press] can move with freedom to portray an evangelical style of life, the hiddenness of the Christian faith could be exposed to public view. That is the function of the Protestant press" (63) The book also includes chapters on the Catholic and Jewish presses.

Religious Newspapers in the Old Northwest to 1861: A History, Bibliography, and Record of Opinion by Wesley Norton (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1977). Norton focuses his study on the religious newspaper and their editors who "contributed, and probably in no small way, to making moral outrage a national institution" (136).

U.S. Religious Journalism and the Korean War by Harold H. Osmer (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1980). Examines responses by religious publications to U.S. foreign policy related to the Korean War. Protestant, Roman-Catholic and Jewish press are examined to discover the relation of foreign policy to expressed religious values. The author examines positions on the containment of Communism as justification for the Korean War to determine what role the religious press played in disseminating viewpoints.

So It Was True: The American Protestant Press and the Nazi Persecution of the Jews by Robert W. Ross (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980). This book examines the information American Protestant churches disseminated through their publications with regards to the Jews in Germany during the Nazi era. It concludes that the press did report events more widely than previously assumed but they "tried to deal with events as if they 'were a part of an ordered, stable, normal world" and seemed "unable to cope with something as unreal, even unimaginable, as the mass slaughter of millions of people" (300).

Religious Publishing and Communications by Judith S. Duke (White Plains, NY: Knowledge Industry Publications, Inc., 1981). Offers a market analysis of religious publishing in general and includes a very brief history of religious magazines.

Prodigal Press: The Anti-Christian Bias of the American News Media by Marvin Olasky (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1988). Relates to the coverage of religion in the secular media more so than to religious publications but begins with a chapter on "The Decline of American Journalism" which seems to assume Christian roots in secular journalism.

Reporting Religion: Facts and Faith edited by Benjamin J. Hubbard (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge Press, 1990). Includes brief chapters on the history and role of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish press, respectively. "The Protestant press," states contributor Charles Austin, "has had a distinguished history, paralleling the steady influence of Protestantism on the development of American society. But this parallel means that as the church itself has become less important to Americans and their society, the influence of the Protestant press has declined" (108). Austin highlights the role of the church press to serve as an "alternative media," looking at current events "from the perspective of faith" (115).

American Evangelicals and the Mass Media, edited by Quentin J. Schultze (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan,1990). Essays in this collection look at the ways in which evangelicalism has shaped the American mass communication system, the relationship between evangelicals and new media technologies and the influence of American media on evangelicalism.

Central Ideas in the Development of American Journalism: A Narrative History by Marvin Olasky (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1991). Olasky narrates the history of journalism from the perspective of three "macrostories": the official story, the corruption story and the oppression story. He concludes that "American journalism, which had developed as an antiestablishment force, had become part of a new establishment that did not have the self-understanding to recognize itself as one" (122). Includes an appendix on "Journalism Historians and Religion" which echoes the views Olasky presents elsewhere, that journalism historians have written Christianity's central role out of American history.

Liberals, Radicals, and the Contested Social Thought of Postwar Protestantism: Christianity and Crisis Magazine, 1941-1976 by Mark Hulsether (University of Minnesota Ph.D. thesis, 1992) Uses a case study of one publication to examine the process of polarization and reconfiguration. Explores broad cultural movements during the life of *Christianity and Crisis* to determine whether or not the publication's political radicalization led to its decline.

Communication and Change in American Religious History, edited by Leonard Sweet (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993). This collection of essays explores the "interplay in American history between the emergence of new communication forms and religious and social change." It examines the broader social history of which religious publications are a part and concludes with an extensive annotated bibliography on American Christianity and the History of Communication.

DUSTING WITH A BALLOT

THE PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN IN THE MILWAUKEE LEADER

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ABSTRACT:

This paper examines the women's pages of the *Milwaukee Leader*, the longest-running and most successful of the Socialist Party's English-language daily newspapers, demonstrating that for much of its life the paper failed to challenge traditional sex roles and stereotypes. Other socialist newspapers, however, were more willing to address the "woman question" critically. A content analysis examines *Leader* women's pages for 1912, 1917, 1922 and 1927.

DUSTING WITH A BALLOT
THE PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN IN THE MILWAUKEE LEADER

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In recent years, scholars have begun to study the workers' movement in the United States — in particular the Socialist Party — and its record on the "Woman Question." This research has been informed by the concerns of the contemporary feminist movement, predominantly the struggle to integrate the problem of women's oppression within a broader leftist agenda. Early Socialist movements saw "women's emancipation as an integral feature of a general social emancipation," a position that began to change as Marx's "scientific socialism" subordinated women's issues to issues of class (Dixler 1984). Yet many in the socialist movement refused to accept this subordination, and the period surrounding the turn of the century saw heated battles over what was termed the "woman question."

In large part these battles over the importance of women's issues were fought out in the pages of the workers' press. As Buhle (1981: 147) notes, when the Socialist Party decided in the early years of the century to bolster its efforts to involve women, "a few important newspapers, including *St. Louis Labor* and the *Chicago Daily Socialist,* followed the precedent set by the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* and converted their pages of fashions and recipes to politically sophisticated women's departments." Like the workers' press in general, these efforts have been little studied. This paper discusses the women's page of the *Milwaukee Leader* — probably the Socialist Party's most successful English-language daily, certainly its longest-lived — and the changing conceptions of women's role and domain found in its pages between 1912 (shortly after the paper was founded) and 1927, when the *Leader* had begun its slow decline. Content analysis of the women's page(s) of 35 representative issues each from 1912, 1917, 1922 and 1927 documents changing patterns of coverage. For comparative purposes, 35 issues each of the *Chicago Daily Socialist* were examined for 1912 (the paper's last year of publication) and 1909. Selected issues of the market-leading *Milwaukee Journal*'s women's pages were also examined.

THE WOMEN'S PAGE

Women's pages have been little studied, though the feminist movement has long challenged the values which these pages all too often embodied. Jane Croly introduced the first known women's column to the *New York Dispatch* in 1859, while Samuel McClure introduced a syndicated women's page in 1892. These early women's pages, Marzolf (1977: 205) notes, were intended to attract a new audience to the newspapers with a blend of "entertainment, enticements for shoppers, and some enlightenment..." From the start, editors generally viewed these pages as unimportant — a place to dump young women seeking careers in journalism and advertisements aimed at female consumers (Hoffman, 1971; Marzolf, 1977). Amidst the light features and recipes, however, women could also occasionally read about women in public affairs and the struggle for women's suffrage, among other material challenging the notion that women's lives should center around fashion and the home.

In 1924, Rebecca West — writing in the British feminist weekly, *Time and Tide* — felt compelled to respond to the "sneers at the women's papers which concern themselves specifically with household manners," arguing that providing recipes and such information can provide a useful service. West provides two examples to bolster her case: the allegedly superior diet of the British (which she attributes to the positive influence of the women's page on women's knowledge of what is healthful), and her experience editing a women's page on a workers' newspaper (almost certainly the *Daily Herald)* begun to aid the dockers' strike:

> I went home after having written a cookery column of filling recipes that made the most of bread and butter and cheese and all those horrid half-masonry-half-food stuffs that the poor must eat. It proved to be an inch too short. This deficiency the editor remedied by opening a cookery book... and copying out a recipe for Nesselrode Pudding. Which is a prima donna among ices... [of] great expensiveness. I received several satirical letters on the subject from dockers' wives... The editor chose that recipe because he had an inch of a cookery column to fill... He did not consider that he had to examine the particular nature of the recipe and discuss its relevance to the kitchen of a docker on strike... (pp 59-60)

West goes on to argue that, even if unintentionally, women's pages not only can, but do, play an important role — if only in improving domestic economy and diet:

> Why should we not be grateful to Home Twitters? ...we mistake the function of such papers as being general instead of specialist. One imagines that they are attempting to present a complete survey of women's life, instead of merely offering her advice on the technical side of certain of her occupations. Because Home Twitters talks of nothing but recipes and babies, we are not to think that it supports an ideal in which women would concern themselves with [nothing but] recipes and babies... (p 62)

I have quoted West at some length because she offers one of only two feminist defenses for

Women's pages that I have been able to locate (the other being Marzolf's [1977, 1995] contention that as a result of publishers' "benign neglect" of women's pages, these offered a space for women to enter journalism and to present sometimes controversial information about women's activities and options that otherwise would not have been able to get into the paper at all), and offers criteria for evaluating the traditional women's page.

Most comment has been more hostile. As Lindsy Van Gelder (1974:112) argues,

> The average newspaper women's page has traditionally been a low-prestige, low-budget, low-paying operation, rife with payola and press agentry. For a great many women journalists — particularly and ironically, for feminists — it has been a purgatory from which to escape.

She notes that this began to change after 1970, with women's sections at many big-city papers beginning to cover issues such as abortion, child care, job discrimination and other feminist issues, as well as taking fresh approaches towards traditional subjects such as food, fashion and home decorating (Marzolf [1995] provides examples of pioneering coverage from the 1950s and 1960s). Yet most women's pages, Van Gelder argues, "are nearly as awful as ever":

> For starters, any section that still calls itself a "women's page" is suspect. When the New Orleans Times-Picayune, for example, presents the title "Women's Activities: Society/ Fashion/Clubs" on a section whose front page is graced by five blown-up photographs of five white fiancees and brides, you get a rough idea of what the Times-Picayune thinks about women... (p 112)

Even where this has changed, the (often re-titled) women's section remained a dumping ground for "women's" stories that more properly belong in the front of the news section. In the fifteen years since, women's sections have almost universally disappeared, replaced by sections retitled "Style" or "Living." Whether the press now does a better job — on the women's pages or in the news section — of covering women's issues and activities is a question beyond the scope of this paper, though Hoffman's (1971) charge that women's pages are too often the receptacle for public relations handouts and advertisers' puff pieces still rings true.

More recently some women journalists have despaired of getting news of specific interest to women into newspapers' news sections and have sought to reclaim women's pages. The *Chicago Tribune*, for example, now publishes a weekly section, "Womanews," in its Sunday newspaper devoted to significant news stories targeted to women. From 1924 to 1994, Whitt (1994) found, the *Chicago Tribune*'s front page has remained an almost exclusively male domain, and men have been crowding women's subjects out of their traditional domain in the features pages as well. Although "Womanews" guarantees regular coverage of women, many see it as a surrender to the notion that women are not news and can be ignored by serious journalists.

WOMEN'S PAPERS

Women have been publishing their own newspapers and magazines at least as long as women's pages have appeared in the mainstream press. While many of these papers shared similar values — one early women's magazine going so far as to assure husbands "that nothing found in these papers shall cause her [his wife]...to encroach upon the prerogatives of men" — others, as early as the 1850s, argued explicitly for women's rights (Mather, 1974). Papers such as *Revolution* and *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* called for suffrage, equal pay and employment opportunities while also supporting the workers' movement. More common were women's papers restricting their attention to women's suffrage, and women's business and professional publications.

This press, as is the case for movement presses in general, is only beginning to receive the attention it deserves (see, e.g., Mather 1974, Bennion 1986, Kennedy 1980, Karvonen 1977, Lindstrom-Best and Seager 1985). Journals such as *Socialist Woman* (later retitled *Progressive Woman)* — which Buhle (1981:148) terms "the single most important source of propaganda and news of the [Party's] women's sector," and which is vital to an understanding of the debate within the Socialist Party, particularly as carried out by women, on the woman question — have been studied only in passing by Buhle (1981) and in her brief essay in Conlin (1974). Launched in 1907 with 26 subscribers out of the *Appeal to Reason* offices, *Socialist Woman* grew to 15,000 subscribers — with special issues printed in press runs of up to 100,000 copies for mass distribution. Karvonen (1977: 203) describes *Socialist/Progressive Woman* as:

> a newspaper which gave advice on how to arrange programs, explained the status of women, discussed vocations of various kinds, informed the readers of activities in the socialist and in the general labor movement. It also had a children's section with serious articles, poems, plays, stories, songs and letters...

Editor Josephine Conger-Kaneko (1911) argued that most Socialist papers could not reach women because they did not address their concerns:

> The average Socialist paper deals with the economic and political issues of the day in a general sense. Women, unused to viewing life save in a very special, concrete manner... must be appealed to directly, specifically.... The home, the child, the family purse and the family larder, are matters that appeal to every woman of the working class.... This is what The Progressive Woman is for:

> To show the "average woman" just where and how the capitalist system gets in its work within the four walls of her home. How it skimps her in the matter of food and clothes, sends her boy to work before he has finished high school, and puts her little girl in the department store, or something worse...

This, then, was the *Socialist/Progressive Woman's* mission. The magazine was the most prominent in a variety of educational and agitational activities undertaken by the Socialists' Women's National Committee in its five-year existence — efforts which included speakers, leaflets, and study programs in socialist, scientific and literary ideas.

Socialists also published foreign-language women's periodicals. *Toveritar* (Female Comrade) was launched in 1911 to draw Finnish-American women into the socialist movement, and to discuss the relationship between socialism and women's rights. Published in Astoria, Oregon, *Toveritar* circulated throughout the U.S. and Canada, and "became an integral component not only of the women's movement, but of the day-to-day activities of Finnish immigrant women," playing a vital role in fostering feminist consciousness among its readers:

> Among the most serious of issues addressed by Toveritar was birth control... hostility to traditional relationships suffused this publication, which gladly printed and personal horror stories.... Toveritar [also] campaign[ed] on behalf of [domestic servants], the largest group of wage-earning Finnish women... (Lindstrom-Best & Seager [1985:250, 255])

Other issues addressed in *Toveritar* included conditions for women workers, the need for child care, the status of working women and women's suffrage, together with club news, household tips and short fiction touching on women's rights or some other social problem. In 1914, *Toveritar* argued for "the modernization of the home so that women could be freed from menial tasks... [and] all members of the family share in household tasks. 'There should be no division into sex roles...'" One writer called on women to "work alongside our men comrades, demanding our rights, as if demon-possessed, for a better future" (Karvonen, 1977: 205-06). In later years, however, *Toveritar* tended towards literary and cultural offerings.

MILWAUKEE: THE LEADER IS BORN

Milwaukee, Wisconsin was an industrial city of 373,857 with a tradition of socialist and labor activity, particularly among its sizable immigrant German community, when the *Leader* was launched (succeeding the weekly *Social-Democratic Herald)* on December 7, 1911. The first issue boasted that its circulation was larger than that of any of the nine other Milwaukee dailies, a claim bitterly contested by competing papers. *Leader* circulation reached 45,580 by March of 1912 (at a time when the *Milwaukee Journal* — which also targeted a working-class audience, and against which the *Leader* was pitted in bitter competition throughout its entire existence — claimed an [unsworn] circulation of 60,000) (Beck, 1970; Ayers, 1913). Throughout the period of this study, the *Leader* remained one of Milwaukee's major newspapers, though it fell to a distant fourth place by the end of the 1930s (Beck, 1970).

Milwaukee had a long tradition of workers' newspapers, beginning with the establishment of the short-lived *Workingman's Advocate* in 1842. In 1860 striking printers founded the *Daily Union* — intended both to present labor's perspective on the news, and to draw away support from the *Sentinel* — but the paper, unable to secure advertising or operating funds, died after only 17 days. In 1875 the Milwaukee section of the First International began the weekly *Der Sozialist* under the banner "No Master, No Slaves," with 2,000 subscribers. An English-language edition was launched later that year, and the two papers played a major role in promoting Milwaukee's unions and mutual aid associations before veering off into electoral activity. In 1880 the socialist weekly *Arminia* was established, changing its title to *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (and increasing its frequency to thrice-weekly) in 1886, becoming the official organ of Milwaukee's Federated Trades Council (AFL) upon its founding in 1887. In 1893, Victor Berger bought the paper, taking it daily and changing the name to *Vorwarts;* it reverted to weekly publication in 1897 and continued as the Socialist Party/Federated Trades Council German-language organ throughout this period. In 1901 the Socialist Party moved its weekly *Social-Democratic Herald* to Milwaukee, where it too served as a joint SP/FTC organ. As Gavett (1965: 98) notes, "virtually every enterprise of the socialists was underwritten by the FTC in some way" during the early decades of this century, with the Trades Council donating campaign funds, buying shares in party papers, and renting offices in the Socialist hall.

Milwaukee's Socialist Party (which campaigned in Milwaukee as the Social-Democratic Party) was the Party's most successful electoral machine, frequently electing candidates to local and state office during the 1910s and 1920s (and continuing to enjoy some local electoral success through the 1960s), and repeatedly electing Victor Berger to Congress (though he served only three full terms — during World War I the House refused to seat him). Following the Party's stunning electoral success in 1910, when it captured control of City Hall, its long-standing desire for a daily English-language paper (efforts towards this end had been underway at least since 1897) took on increased urgency. Although Milwaukee's daily press had been relatively even-handed during the 1910 campaign, waged largely on a clean-government platform following exposure of massive graft by the incumbent administration, relations between the Socialist administration and the press rapidly deteriorated. As Algie Simons, editor of Chicago's *Daily Socialist,* later to work for the *Leader* , explained in the *Leader's* premier issue,

> The Milwaukee Leader came because it had to be. Nine capitalist dailies all lying about the majority of Milwaukee's population (and the only useful portion) created a vacuum of veracity that was bound to draw a Socialist daily into existence... (Dec. 7, 1911, p 1)

PARTY, LABOR AND PRESS

From its birth, Beck (1970: 39) notes, the *Leader* represented what Berger, the *Leader's* publisher and editor (when not in Congress), called the "personal fusion" of party and unions:

> In the creed of right-wing Socialism, the ideologues of both the political and economic branches of the labor movement held as an article of faith that the Cooperative Commonwealth would come through Education. And no weapon in the educational arsenal was as important as the Socialist press...

In an editorial marking the *Leader's* sixth anniversary, Victor Berger said that the *Leader* was launched amidst the jeers of its enemies.

> The paper was started mainly because the rank and file of the Milwaukee Socialists had become tired of the hateful misrepresentations of the Socialist administration and of social-ism in general by the capitalist press.... Today The Milwaukee Leader undoubtedly is the best equipped and foremost Socialist paper in the English-speaking world. (Dec. 7, 1916, p 1)

The *Leader* was certainly the best capitalized of the Socialist dailies (though it constantly operated on the verge of bankruptcy) — and while others enjoyed for brief periods a larger circulation, the *Leader* was to survive for more than 30 years (although under different ownerships after 1938), making it by far the longest-lived of the Socialist Party's English-language papers.

The *Leader* was part of a widespread network of Socialist organs. National Secretary John Work reported to the Party's 1912 Convention that the Party published 13 daily newspapers (five of them in English), and more than 300 weekly and monthly papers. A weekly Socialist Party news service served more than 400 socialist and labor papers (*Leader* May 1, 1912, p 8). The Party placed great emphasis upon its press. As Eugene Debs, the Socialist's most prominent national figure, put it in the *Leader's* premier issue: "The building of a socialist press is the most important factor in the building of the socialist movement."

The paper played a crucial role in enabling the party to win support outside of its traditional German base and in outlying areas, and in promoting and sustaining not only the Socialist Party but the

Federated Trades Council as well. While devoting extensive space to the party's program and campaigns (particularly for municipal office) and to exposes of opposing politicians, the Leader strove to be a complete newspaper — with local, national and world news, heavily spiced with human interest stories, and Business, Sports and Women's pages. This effort was hampered by insufficient resources, aggravated by the *Leader's* difficulties in securing advertising despite its substantial circulation, and further complicated by the difficulty, particularly prior to the establishment of the Federated Press in 1920, of obtaining accurate and timely reports on labor and socialist news. The *Leader* relied on United Press dispatches for the bulk of its news, and these reports were often quite hostile to the labor movement (especially towards its more militant sectors). A *Leader* headline reporting that "tin soldiers" had fired on women and children, over a UP dispatch reporting that a mob of strikers had attacked state militia was symptomatic of the resulting tensions.

Like Milwaukee's Socialist Party, the *Leader* advocated a reformist agenda often indistinguishable from the program of the Progressive Republicans. The Party's 1910 platform called for public ownership of trusts and public utilities, home rule, tax reform, public works, redistricting, free medical service, municipal plumbing, improved public sanitation (the city had been dumping its garbage in the lake), park construction, urban renewal, better schools, and fair treatment of city workers. The platform's preamble did proclaim that "this capitalist system not only results in untold misery and suffering, but also in crime, prostitution and corruption," going on to explain that Socialism would eliminate the evils of graft in government, trusts, and private ownership of public utilities. (Wachman, 1945, pages 77-81) Following the logic of this reformist platform, the Party gave up its ballot slot in 1936 for a joint Farmer-Labor Progressive ticket (Beck, 1970).

THE LEADER AND THE WOMAN QUESTION

> The Socialist movement stands for equal rights for men and women. Not only "when we shall have Socialism," but right now in the party organization... (Conger-Kaneko, 1911)

From its very first issue the *Milwaukee Leader* featured a women's page, running under nameplates such as "For Women and the Home," "Fashions and Other Feminine Affairs," "Homemaking - Entertaining - Fashions," and "Leader's Magazine and Home Page." The *Leader* took pride in its women's page, boasting in 1913 that it "compares favorably with that of any paper in America" (1/9/13, p 4). When a new editor, Hazel Moore, was hired to edit the page, a page 1 headline announced "Miss Moore Begins Her Work with the Leader" (Nov. 20, 1916). The article beneath explained that she was a writer on domestic economy who would answer queries on home problems, provide household hints, and publish information on food, clothing, and how to combat the rising cost of living. At a time when the only name in the editorial staff box was Victor Berger's, Moore became one of only two editors (the other being the Sports editor) to see her name published in the paper — incorporated into the 'Magazine and Home Page' nameplate. (After several months of Moore's editorship, the women's page was reorganized once again, and Mary McCreary was brought on as editor. McCreary's name never ran in the nameplate, but several articles appeared over her byline.)

News about women's activities and issues also ran in the *Leader's* news section. Editorially and in its news columns, the *Leader* urged approval of women suffrage. October 29th, 1912, when suffrage was on the ballot, the *Leader* ran a page 1 cartoon proclaiming that without full suffrage there was no liberty. The lead editorial explained "Why votes for women". A two-page spread provided several articles on various aspects of women's suffrage (including the role of socialists in promoting it), with several of the articles continued onto the women's page. In all, more than three pages of the 14-page edition was devoted to the question. Yet though the *Leader* consistently supported women's suffrage, running frequent articles on the movement both on the women's page and in the rest of the paper, when the Socialists were defeated in the 1917 local elections the *Leader* blamed the results on women voters voting under the directions of Catholic and Lutheran ministers. After the elections, relations between the Socialists and the suffrage movement steadily deteriorated, with many party members convinced that the women's vote was costing them elections.

The *Leader* made a special appeal to women voters for the 1917 school board elections: "To vote is a simple matter. It is part of the work of municipal housekeeping. It is woman's work..." Women were urged to vote "for the children's sake." (Buenker, 1981: 136) A similar campaign for women's votes was carried out for the 1919 elections. Thus the *Leader's* record on suffrage, while formally correct, was somewhat ambiguous. Where the Party nominated women as candidates, it was for the school board and similar races. No effort was made in these campaigns, or in the *Leader's* campaigns to encourage women to vote, to challenge the notion that women's concerns were properly confined to the private sphere — rather the private sphere was redefined to incorporate 'municipal housekeeping,' dusting with a ballot, so to speak.

The *Leader's* record on other women's issues was similarly ambiguous. The June 30, 1912 edition, for example, featured three articles on its front page of relevance here. A brief report of a Socialist women's picnic reported (in full):

> About 50 women met at a picnic at Fernwood grove yesterday. During the afternoon Mrs. Victor L. Berger delivered a short talk on the fascination of working shoulder to shoulder with the men in the movement and urged the women to join their regular ward branches. Edmund T. Melms told of his plans for active work to be done by the women during the fall and winter.

Notably, it is a male party official setting forth the plans, though the headline proclaims "Women Plan Work At Picnic," and Meta Berger, an elected member of the School Board and party activist in her own right, is referred to only as "Mrs. Victor L. Berger."

Three columns to the right, a headline announces "Woman Socialist Out for Congress." The candidate, "Mrs. Marie B. MacDonald," who gained public attention for battling anarchists trying to tear down an American flag, is identified as a prominent "worker for suffrage and socialism" and wife of a Socialist editor. And a two-column, 10-paragraph article about the Puerto Rican anarchist-feminist Luisa Capetillo — running under a three tier headline, "Porto [sic] Rican Joan of Arc Unable To Get Women to Join Crusade To Abolish Skirts and Marriage" — ridicules her views and activities.

January 9, 1912, the *Leader* ran an item entitled "Sheriff Harburger of New York Who has Appointed Women Deputies." The Sheriff, the one-paragraph article explains, "has announced that he will make no distinction in the matter of sex when making appointments and distributing badges." The article was accompanied by a 3-column graphic depicting the sheriff surrounded by three women deputies — their tiny, caricatured bodies dwarfed by giant heads. A year following this ridicule against the notion that women could "serve" as deputy sheriffs, the women's page ran an interview with a Los Angeles policewoman, assigned to cases involving juvenile and women offenders (Jan. 3, 1913).

May 5, 1912, a page three story revealed that women were smoking. The three tier head proclaimed: "How Shocking! Girlies Carry 'Makings' in Stocking; Wear Cigarettes on Garter; Maids and Matrons 'Puff' Together in Rest Rooms." By 1916 such blatantly sensationalist material had largely disappeared from the paper, although news about women's issues and activities remained quite scarce. By 1917, when women made the front page it was as workers (demanding equal wages for war work or having their health ruined by long hours — part of the paper's campaign against World War I), suffragists, or anti-war activists.

However, this improvement (such as it was) was not mirrored in the *Leader's* women's page — which replaced the occasional articles about women's political activity (and the more frequent recipes) with serialized movie plots and theatrical news (which had formerly run on another page). By the early 1920s, theatrical news once again ran on a separate page and the movie serials were replaced with serial and short fiction which spilled over onto other pages.

A PAGE FOR WOMEN?

The April 3, 1917 women's page (titled 'Magazine and Home Page') was in many ways typical for the era. The left-column lead proclaims "Singer and Eddie Foy are Stars of Bill at Majestic," heading slightly more than a column of brief reviews and announcements of the bills at 11 local movie and live theaters. The right column lead (columns 6 and 7) is a serialization of a movie plot which premiered December 16, 1916, on the *Leader's* front page. "The Secret Kingdom" was a story of mystery, intrigue and action featuring royalty and the idle rich in a seemingly plotless and leisurely flight across a landscape apparently modeled on Europe. The other four columns across the top of the page are filled by "The Mystery of the Double Cross," another motion picture serial in the soap opera genre, making its second appearance in a very short run below a large, crude drawing of a scene from the film (the leading lady rebuffing the hero's advances, which she had welcomed just seconds before, while a masked man who mysteriously pops in and out of the action points a gun — at the woman in the drawing, but at the hero according to the text).

The rest of the page is devoted to Society news (a half-column of notices of marriages, meetings [including one of the Milwaukee County Women Suffrage Association], travel, births, a testimonial dinner [the honoree and most of the audience appear to have been men, this is by far the longest item], and an upcoming play being presented by a student club — except when getting married, women in the Society column were invariably referred to by their husband's names; thus "Mrs. George J. Noyes left Tuesday for Washington, where she will visit her daughter, Mrs. William Fiather"); notices ("Milwaukee Jews to Celebrate Feast of Passover This Week," Old Settlers' Club new members, an upcoming talk by a municipal judge and a speech by a state assemblyman); "The Home Query Box" (hair care and etiquette); tips for boiling onions; "The Sandman Story For Tonight" (a long-running series of morality tales masquerading as animal fables distributed by the McClure Syndicate; this episode extolled cooperation over greed); and three advertisements (for Schuster's department store, a new method for removing unwanted facial hair [a reading notice, identified as an ad only at the end], and a liquid nostrum).

This page is atypical only in that it contains three fiction serials where the norm is two — the additional space generally taken up by fashion news.

The May 2, 1917 women's page contained more substantive matters. The right column lead announced that Eastern railroads would hire women to fill in for drafted workers "in departments not actually engaged in physical operation of trains." "Officials," the subhead explains, "after experiment, say they are sure weaker contingent will satisfy." One line is going so far as to consider employing women in the sale and collection of tickets, while "The Pennsylvania lines... planned to place many women in clerical positions and will later try them in other and more important positions." Columns 2 and 3 were topped by a photo from a movie which has just opened at a local theater, while column 4 presents another Sandman Story (a morality tale about how good deeds, even when unintentional, pay off in the end).

Column 5 was one in a series of exposés by Hazel Moore about the dangers of midwifery, focusing on a government report on southern midwifes. The lack of competent medical attention "during mother's confinement" results in deformed children, it is argued, although the report is quoted acknowledging that at least one midwife was competent.

> Superstitious midwives thrive in portions of our large cities where foreign elements [such as many of the *Leader's* readers] live.... Knowing nothing of the wonderful work of the maternity hospital or the health department, they call in the neighborhood midwife who frequently combines certain superstitions and fanaticism with her work...

A letter is also printed from a visiting nurse who "know[s] the horrible conditions existing where midwives have charge of births." The problem, Moore concludes, is one of ignorance: "If our present day mothers and the young women, who are our future mothers, were instructed in the facilities [the hospital and health department] which are at hand, there would be less suffering and more sturdy children." Not a thought here of training midwives so that they could provide better care, or of educating prospective mothers as to proper precautions — the *Leader's* solution is to have officially-sanctioned health professionals (presumably male) replace the midwives.

Columns 6 and 7 are devoted to another movie serialization, "The Golden Blight" — a melodrama about a scientist who seeks to put the capitalists at his mercy through a powerful new invention involving "radioactives": "You're in my grip, Murchison, you and your whole class, the class of exploiters, parasites and warmakers — the spoilers of the world." This serial premiered on the *Leader's* front page April 20th, and is virtually unique among *Leader* fiction for its political content, though its literary quality is typical of the genre:

> "Wherever you people go, you capitalists, you set hell in motion. Like noxious ferments, like malignant bacilli invading a body, you set up every kind of pestiferous reaction — and, so that you may have your gold, the world has strikes, gunmen, murder, starvation, plague, adulteration, corrupt politics, broken faith, hate, lies, ugliness and war.
>
> "For you the machine guns sweep the mining camps. For you are women and nursing babes mangled with explosive bullets, piled into heaps, saturated with kerosene and burned in hideous pyres by thugs and offscourgings from the slums! For you — "

"Stop! Stop, I tell you" remonstrates our hapless capitalist, the scientist's employer, as the curtain falls with the inevitable "To Be Continued." Such purple rhetoric rarely found its way onto the *Leader's* women's page (or anywhere else in the *Leader's* pages, for that matter), although during this period the *Leader* did periodically use its theatrical notices to bolster its anti-war campaign by prominently plugging anti-war films (such as one depicting the ways in which war disrupts marriage and family life).

Other articles included a half-column item about how ribbon skirts are the newest fashion in New York (also plugging various accessories); a half-column of theatrical notices; society news (two parties and three items on people who returned from vacations); the daily pattern (an almost daily feature describing a pattern available for ten cents from the *Leader's* pattern department); notices (a recital, club meeting, church picnic, Anti-Saloon League and Council of Jewish Women elections, and "Prizes for War Songs" for a patriotic song concert); and short news items (preparing milk for infants, "Woman, Aged 93, Dies; Leaves 117 Descendants," town likes daylight savings time, and an explosion that killed 30 women workers). Also on the page were a listing of persons holding unpaid-for Party carnival tickets, an ad for Schuster's department store, and an ad for a high-calorie "food tonic" — "the safe medicine for all the family."

Together, these pages are typical of the *Leader's* women's page during this period. As the years went by, the trend towards fashion news, fiction, and other material reflecting traditional roles and values accelerated. By 1927, as the following table (representing the number of appearances on *Leader* women's pages of articles in the indicated categories for a sample of 35 issues each for 1912, 1917, 1922 and 1927, and, for comparative purposes, the *Chicago Daily Socialist* from 1909 and 1912) illustrates, alternative and oppositional material had entirely disappeared from the *Leader's* women's page. (Advertisements have been excluded from the content analysis, although "articles" promoting the newspaper's circulation are included.)

Clearly efforts to educate women as to socialist ideas, to air issues of particular concern to women, or to embody any sort of feminist consciousness were largely absent from the women's pages, a relative absence that would loom much larger were considerations such as length, placement, or accompanying graphics (almost entirely restricted to fashion and fiction offerings) to be taken into account.

Overall, the *Leader*'s women's page differed only slightly from the *Milwaukee Journal*'s offerings during this period. The *Journal*, with Milwaukee's largest circulation (nearly three times that of the *Leader* by April of 1917) did not run a women's page labeled as such, but divided its offerings for women into two pages, separated by several pages of general news. The first of these two pages featured Society News (weddings, parties, vacations), Women's Club reports and notices; along with general news and numerous advertisements. (Among those running April 3, 1917, were ads for Victor records, music lessons, hair dye and movies — including an anti-birth control film entitled "Never Born.") The second of these pages included fiction ("Little Stories for Bedtime"), a serialized novel ("Confessions of a Wife"), theatrical notices, an advice column, recipes, and similar fare.

The *Journal* did not hesitate to use its women's page to promote its political agenda — the primary item on which was to involve the United States in World War I. May 4th, for example, the *Journal* announced the formation of a women's patriotic league to support US entry — among organizations sending representatives were the Wisconsin Association Opposed to Women's Suffrage and the Wisconsin Suffrage Association. While the *Leader* was stressing the war's role in exacerbating food shortages, the *Journal* eagerly reported state plans to increase food supplies, including a page 1 photograph of "Patriotic Women" taking gardening lessons (5/5/17). The *Journal's* article endorsing school board candidates reported that "The Journal does not believe that a single candidate... who stands for disloyal pro-Germanism masked as Socialism should be elected to a seat in the school board" (April 2, 1917, p 1). Even the department store ads boosted the war effort, in which the U.S. was not yet embroiled.

[insert table]

FREQUENCY OF APPEARANCE OF NEWS AND FEATURE MATERIAL ON THE MILWAUKEE LEADER WOMEN'S PAGE

Category:	1912	1917	1922	1927	CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST* 1909	CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST* 1912
Traditional Roles and Values:						
Fashion News and Photos	34	19	40	15	1	40
Patterns	18	15	9	29	58	16
Beauty Tips	10	2	15	2	2	3
Theater/Cinema	8	29		1	1	3
Music & Opera News/Reviews		4			2	4
Fiction, Movie Serials	38	71	113	103	16	18
Literary Criticism & Reviews					4	
Society and Club News	12	31	27	1	1	4
Features, Human Interest	25	39	89	38	32	55
Notices	15		7	1	1	3
Food & Recipes	27	8	25	40	11	44
Childcare	5	1	4	29	1	10
Schools & Education, Library	5	2		2	2	2
Health News and Tips	12	3	36	41	3	9
Domestic Tips, Bargains	12	6	29	16	16	22
Advice/Etiquette	7	9	2	27		32
Dishonest Merchants, Profiteering	2	3		1		1
Morality Tales	6	6	2	3	2	10
Humor & Comics	3		11	18	27	24
Poetry	2			1	30	9
Socialist & Progressive:						
Socialist News & Events	1	1			13	3
Suffrage News & Events	7	3			12	21
Child Labor	1	1			2	2
Women Workers		1		2	10	9
Changing Housekeeping	1				1	1
Women in Politics	1	2		1	1	5
Birth Control				1		1
Alternative Roles	1	2	2	1	1	7
Charity Ball		2			1	
Midwifery				2		
Strikes and the Family				1	4	3
Anti-War		6			1	2
General Social Reform	1	2		1	11	3
Left Morality Tales					16	
General Socialist Commentary		1			15	5
Newspaper Promotion	2			1	3	
General and Local Politics	4	9		8	16	4

Total Sample For Each Year: 35 issues

**Chicago Daily Socialist* changed name to *World* in 1912, and ceased publication soon thereafter.

In the *Leader's* first years, the women's page was dominated by fashion news — particularly huge photographs often bearing credits to local department stores. What impact these articles about fur coats and the latest Parisian fashions might have made upon the *Leader's* (presumably) predominantly working-class readership must remain a matter of speculation, but they seem unlikely to have promoted class consciousness among the hoped-for readers.

Although fiction played a major role on the *Leader's* women's page from the start, it occupied much more space by 1917 and was of a substantially different character. In 1912 *Leader* fiction was, for the most part, boy-meets-girl short romances syndicated by American Literary Press (although supplemented by occasional reprints, generally of much higher quality, from other papers). But in 1917 the *Leader* doubled its literary offerings — publishing a movie serialization (occasionally two) and a "Sandman Story" (a series of short morality tales featuring animal characters) each day. Each new serial was announced by a prominent advertisement, announcing where the movie was playing and that the story would run in the *Leader*, often the first installment ran on the front page. On November 29th, 1916, for example, a page 2 advertisement announced that the first of a series based on "these enthralling pictures" was running that day on the women's page. "The Scarlet Runner," the ad announced, featured a new movie each week: "Action — which grips and holds the attention; Life — the reaction of a brave man and a tender women in trying circumstances and perilous situations; Love — the most wonderful emotion of all; are portrayed in The Scarlet Runner."

These serials were clearly provided by the motion picture studios as part of their promotional campaigns, and were presumably available without cost to the *Leader's* perennially strapped budget. By the 1920s, however, the movie serials were dropped for short fiction and novel serials. Between the *Leader's* fiction and its theatrical reviews and notices (almost certainly motivated, at least in part, by the substantial volume of theatrical advertising that ran in the *Leader*), half a page or more of each edition's women's page was already spoken for. This meant that less space was available for recipes and fashion news. The amount of explicitly political material on the women's page increased during in 1917, although remaining at very low levels, largely as a result of the *Leader's* aggressive anti-war campaign which subsided only days before the U.S. declared war on Germany. (In apparent retaliation for this campaign the US Post Office, in October 1917, barred the *Leader* from mailing copies at newspaper rates — costing the paper nearly 16,000 out-of-town readers — and ten months later cut off all mail delivery to *Leader* offices. [Beck, 1970]) But by war's end political material virtually disappeared from the women's page.

Over the years, articles such as the 1912 item on "Women in Japan" (explaining that "No woman in the world is more thoroughly versed in the difficult art of pleasing a man than the dainty Japanese.... [whose] real womanliness... [gives the race] a fine vigor which could only come from a home life of compact strength" [1/27/12]) disappeared from the *Leader's* pages, as did the articles on scandalous women's behavior and features such as a photo spread on "Milwaukee's Prettiest Young Woman" (April 15, 1912).

On occasion, during the early years, the women's page even went so far as to criticize prevailing fashions, blasting the "hourglass style" as uncomfortable and unsightly, arguing that "with the distension of her lower section a woman lost virtually all resemblance to a human being. She appeared formalized, bedeviled, bedigned (sic)" (Feb. 21, 1917). A few days later, the women's page reported the case of a woman who was working to put her husband, who did the housework, through college (March 5, 1917).

By late 1917, however, Hazel Moore had been replaced as women's page editor by Maud McCreary. Under McCreary's editorship, explicitly socialist articles briefly reappeared on the women's page (which no longer bore a nameplate distinguishing it from other pages). McCreary began a series of articles based on German socialist theoretician August Bebel's classic "Women and Socialism." In addition to popularizations of socialist classics, McCreary ran articles on the suffrage movement (in particular the pickets and arrests of National Women's Party activists), women physicians, an explanation of how poor working conditions led to tuberculosis, short items on war deaths, and other political items. Where an article with a specific women's slant was not available, its place was usually filled with general political news.

McCreary continued to run traditional women's page fare, of course, such as theatrical news, the Daily Pattern, Society, fashion, notices, child rearing, human interest items and fiction, and also an advice column prepared for the *Leader* by Dotty Warden. In November of 1917 the women's page was running up to three fiction serials a day — the Sandman stories, a serialized novel, and a movie serial (occasionally bumped to another page). Thus under her editorship, which coincided with a dramatic decline in circulation and advertising occasioned by active government persecution detailed in Beck (1970), among others, the women's page did make more of a concerted effort to use its women's page to raise the political consciousness of its readers, along with the articles intended to be of practical use or to entertain.

But for the most part the *Leader* continued to rely on syndicated material to fill out its women's page, and to use the page as a vehicle to promote advertising sales. The result was a women's page that, overall, reflected and upheld the notion that a woman's place was in the home, and (particularly prior to McCreary's editorship) that she ought not be concerned with political issues except insofar as they impacted upon the private sphere.

This was not, however, inevitable. The *Chicago Daily Socialist* women's page, for example, combined patterns, fiction and human interest items (often touching on social issues) with socialist commentary and articles explicitly challenging traditional sex roles. Its April 12 1909 "Magazine Page" featured articles on the role of public schools, architecture, Parisian playgrounds and a critique of press arguments for lower wages to promote economic prosperity, alongside the inevitable serialized fiction, patterns, and embroidery tips. By 1912, however, the *Daily Socialist* changed its name (to the *Evening World)* and editorial policy in pursuit of a mass readership (Bekken 1993); its women's page dropped political items in favor of recipes, fiction and club news. The *Socialist* did not survive this transformation.

Lotta de Classi, a New York-based Italian-language socialist paper launched (in 1911) the first women's column in an Italian-American radical paper. In it the paper urged women to cast off patriarchal and religious ties and to join the workers' movement. Buhle (1981: 299) argues that *Lotta de Classi's* efforts were "abstract" and "fanatical," and that "the distance between the revolutionary ideal and daily practice remained too great" to draw women readers to the left. Yet many workers' papers, including both English and foreign-language socialist publications, found it possible to reach women readers by combining arguments for socialism with entertainment and practical tips, and found that women were perhaps not quite so dim-witted and parochial as the theoreticians had argued.

And some socialist women's pages (though by no means the majority) found it possible to dispense with entertainment altogether. Seller (1985: 223), for example, reports that the *Jewish Daily Forward's* weekly women's page, in 1919, lacked "many of the usual ingredients":

> "Women's Interests" included no advertisements, no consumer information, no food lore or recipes; indeed the issue published before Passover... contained an article identifying women's work in the kitchen with slavery. Also absent were "how to" articles... The rare articles on fashion and beauty treated these subjects sarcastically... Articles on education and child psychology, however, were a staple, as were articles on love, marriage, and family life... the gap between women's wages and those of men... [and] a political news column.

Even some mainstream labor newspapers found it possible to offer a more critical woman's page.

Chicago's *Union Labor Advocate* turned its women's department over to the Chicago chapter of the National Women's Trade Union League which used it for in-depth reports on women's labor struggles, the suffrage movement, the economic and social conditions of women workers, etc. (As with other *Union Labor Advocate* departments, the WTUL was charged a modest fee for the space its section filled, and expected to promote the paper among its members.) The League later spun off the section as a separate magazine, *Life and Labor*, published from 1911 through 1921 (Bekken, forthcoming).

CONCLUSIONS

> Socialism in its inception was absolutely and irrevocably opposed to this system.... But [socialism] ...now has but one desire — to adjust itself to the narrow confines of its cage.... The political trap has transferred Socialism from the proud, uncompromising position of a revolutionary minority, fighting fundamentals and undermining the strongholds of wealth and power, to... busying itself with nonessentials, with things that barely touch the surface, measures that have been used as political bait by the most lukewarm reformers.... In order to achieve these "revolutionary" measures, the... Socialist[s cater] ...to every superstition, every prejudice, every silly tradition... Emma Goldman (1913)

From its inception, Milwaukee's Socialist Party was committed to reform through the political process, rather than to the sort of broad, sweeping transformation of society that traditionally characterized the socialist movement. These reformist tendencies were bolstered by the Party's commitment to working in close harmony with the mainstream (AFL) union movement (Gavett, 1965). In the columns of the *Social-Democratic Herald* and later the *Leader*, Berger and other prominent Milwaukee socialists consistently argued against the IWW's revolutionary industrial unionism (which had initially attracted substantial support within Milwaukee's Federated Trades Council, before the Socialists intervened to keep the FTC in the AFL), though sometimes supporting specific strikes and opposing government repression.

As Schofield (1983) notes, women's relationship to the labor movement has been historically problematic, with trade unions "reinforc[ing] conventional social attitudes concerning women's role." Most AFL unions would not admit women to membership, and while the AFL did support reforms such as women's suffrage (which more militant currents such as the IWW dismissed as simply irrelevant), its vision of women's role was essentially domestic. Women played little role in Milwaukee's Socialist Party, and the party evidenced little commitment to (or vision of) women's emancipation.

This limited and reformist vision necessarily carried over to the *Leader's* women's page, and to its portrayal of women in the rest of the paper (as to its coverage in general). While the *Leader* was prepared to support reformist demands such as women's suffrage, it retained a basic commitment to traditional values and norms for women. If, by 1917, the *Leader* no longer subjected women who challenged these roles to ridicule, it still held to traditional notions of women's domain.

Writing in 1908, John Spargo asked, "Is it not a fact that most of our speeches and by far the greatest part of our propaganda literature have been addressed to men, as though it was not worthwhile to address the women?" Spargo was encouraged by the fact that socialist women were then taking matters into their own hands, although these efforts were soon brought under the control of the Party hierarchy and later dropped in an economy move (Buhle, 1981: 304-310). (Documents from this struggle "to create a socialist feminism anchored in the working-class experience" are reproduced in Gordon [1976].) Spargo went on to argue that:

> It is high time that the Socialist Party paid more serious attention to woman's share in the social misery of today, her vital stake in the movement for the liberation of mankind and her enormous influence.... Most unsatisfactory of all has been the treatment [in Socialist propaganda] of woman's place in society. Most of our literature on this point has been based upon the assumption that any other employment for women than household and maternal duties must be considered abnormal and wrong... (Spargo, 1908: 452-453)

To judge from the pages of the *Milwaukee Leader*, Spargo — and others who voiced similar concerns — was not heard in Milwaukee.

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The Struggle to Control Motion Picture Advertising, 1921 to 1968

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"It is hardly fair to make so extreme a statement, but it actually is a fact that the manner in which pictures were advertised was more responsible for the (censorship) move than the pictures themselves." -- Epes W. Sargent, 1915.[1]

From the moment of realization that the flickering pictures in movie theaters were not just a passing fad, but a new means of expression that might profoundly influence opinion, concerned citizens saw the need for regulation. Motion picture content alarmed many people, and historians have written extensively about efforts to censor scripts and the films themselves. Less well known, however, have been the attempts to control movie advertising. For it was the ads that first introduced most of the public to what played in the theaters, and it was the advertisements that unsettled cinema's legion of critics, many of whom, one may speculate, may never have bothered to see the films for themselves.

Motion picture advertising more often than not was viewed as a window by which to judge the movies. Suggestive words and sexy art work was seen by millions who never saw the picture; therefore the film would be damned in the eyes of many as even more objectionable than it actually was. Unaware that the early posters did not always represent the actual film scenes, social reformers envisioned the photoplays as "rivers of blood, murder at wholesale, seduction in gross lots, and assault and battery for punctuation," and never went inside to investigate. Testifying at a House hearing to create a Motion Picture Commission in 1914, Wilbur F. Crafts, Superintendent of the International Reform Bureau, admitted that he rarely attended motion pictures, but was very aware of the sensational advertising. A poster he had recently seen portrayed a "group of male savages about one savage woman." The ad for "Their Last Wife" was "as bad as if they had represented half a dozen negroes contemplating rape," and was not a safe film for anyone to see.[2]

Advertising complaints voiced by critics in the early 1900s were similar to those expressed in every decade thereafter. Movies that contained moral love affairs and virtuous people were exploited for having just the opposite: if there was little or no sex, it was suggested that there was lots. Films promised far more than they gave, and as historian Benjamin Hampton pointed out: "Not one in fifty ... offerings contained more than a few sexy situations, but photographs of such scenes could be displayed in lobbies and seductive sentences and drawings could appear in newspaper advertisements." Fred Eastman, writing for the *Christian Century*, often exhorted his readers to pick up a daily newspaper, read the ads, and ask themselves if the movies had cleaned up. "Sometimes, the picture itself is not so bad," he wrote, "but the advertising tries to make us believe it is."[3]

By 1920, when 20,000,000 people attended films every day, higher standards were beginning to be required because movies were "always under the broad light of publicity, something patronized by people in all walks of life." The majority of the public disapproved of the trend that movies and advertising were taking by an industry who refused to be restricted. Just as the railway, steel, and meat-packing industries had been regulated for the sake of public protection, so should motion pictures. Proponents of governmental regulation regularly cited statistics to demonstrate the magnitude of the motion picture's deleterious impact on innocent youth. That the young were susceptible to "mental suggestion," and mere exposure to "subversive ads" tended to loosen morals and cause juvenile misbehavior were popular sentiments throughout the 1900s. Protection from the acts of sexuality, aggression, and disrespect publicly displayed on posters, on billboards, and in family newspapers was needed, not only for the children who made up 50 percent of the audience, but for the adults who could not read or understand English, and for the morality of everyone.[4]

The constituents could not be ignored, and it was Congress' function to be fully informed upon, and constant observers of, anything that had an influence on the people's material and spiritual welfare. The government became immersed in controlling the motion picture industry and remained so until long after the 1960s. From the first House resolution in 1909 to license moving-picture machines, until 1971, when a bill was proposed to prevent X-rated previews, over 117 bills were introduced into Congress to restrict every aspect of the industry. More than 81 of these measures called for regulating/and or investigating not only the movies, but the advertising as well. Many of these proposals resulted in hearings, and the *Congressional Record,* from 1909 to 1971, contains hundreds of remarks, debates, petitions, and magazine and newspaper articles that relate to the film industry.[5]

While local, state, and federal legislators attempted to supervise motion pictures and advertising, the greatest effort came from the film industry itself. As Will Hays, first president of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA), recognized, it was futile to concentrate on improving and promoting the virtues of the movies as long as the ads labeled them depraved. He acknowledged that if not for the advertising offenses, film censorship may have not been the problem it was. They could counteract the paid reformers, but it was difficult to handle the other type, who, "upon seeing a sexy billboard or a flaunting full-page advertisement hinting at salaciousness on the screen, were convinced that the reformers must be right."[6]

Despite the efforts to execute its rules, the motion picture industry's guidelines often failed to appease reformers, the clergy, and the public. As a result of censorship threats, the industry developed self-discipline secured by strict adherence to its Production and Advertising

Codes, constantly re-affirming and strengthening its tenets with each attack on its veracity. The history of motion picture advertising and the measures to control it reveals an interesting interplay of "attack and defend": Congress censured and the industry moved toward self-regulation to demonstrate that no federal interference was needed.

The film industry's initial attempt at self-regulation was developed by the National Association of the Moving Picture Industry (NAMPI) in 1921, and culminated in the *Thirteen Points or Standards*. Members, who controlled 90 percent of production, condemned the creation and exhibition of films that emphasized sex, vice, crime, lustful titles, and employed "salacious advertising matter, photographs, and lithographs in connection therewith." Although he had no means to enforce the *Standards*, President William W. Brady promised legislators that no state or federal laws would be needed to morally supervise films, and resolved to prove that self-regulation was superior to government regulation. In a speech to the New Jersey State Senate, he reportedly said, "You can't control this business, but I can; I am president of the Producers' Association, and, with two or three other men, I control every foot of film shown in the U.S.; what we say goes."[7]

Brady's statements led to the introduction of a resolution by Senator Henry L. Myers of Montana to investigate the industry's political activities. At the hearing in 1922, Myers testified to the strong feeling in the country that moving pictures were immoral, salacious, detrimental to good morals and citizenship, and especially injurious to young people. The fact that NAMPI had banded together to oppose this growing public sentiment was cause for concern. The motion picture screen had greater publicity and political power than the newspapers, claimed Reverend William Sheafe Chase, and it was not good legal judgment to allow five "Hebrews" to use the screen to defeat legislative candidates who proposed regulation of immoral films. The hearing's purpose was to suggest actions that could be taken by the government; however, there is no record of the outcome in the Senate records.[8]

Hollywood's sex scandals, divorces, and murders aggravated the perception of the "wild and immoral" film industry. In 1922, twenty-two censorship bills threatened to become law in as many states, and the sixth hearing in eight years for federal censorship placed the industry in need of a public relations program. The movie moguls hired Will H. Hays, known for his expertise in diplomacy, his connections with the federal administration, and his old-fashioned moral values as elder of the Presbyterian Church. With the formation of the MPPDA, Hays developed a ten-point program designed to lead the industry to respectability. His goals were to correct trade practices, minimize scandalous publicity, battle censorship, refine picture content, and improve the quality of advertising. Well aware that movie patrons were traditionally more interested in "spice" than in wholesome entertainment, Hays was just as cognizant of the protests generated by the racy ads. Taking definite steps within his first year, he sought assistance from the Associated Advertising Clubs of America, appealed to newspapers to maintain their high advertising standards, and advised the promotion departments of the member companies.[9]

A more exacting plan was needed to prove self-regulation workable; five more bills to control the industry had been introduced in Congress between 1921 and 1924. In a second attempt at self-regulation, the MPPDA created the *Formula,* a code that would establish moral and artistic standards, deter certain types of books or plays from becoming movies, and prevent misleading, salacious or dishonest advertising. Hays hoped the *Formula* would effectively curb detrimental forms of publicity. Speaking at the Associated Motion Picture Advertisers meeting, he pleaded with the members to do everything in their power to discourage the methods currently being used to advertise pictures.[10]

The good intentions of the *Formula* failed to convince the public and the politicians. The most comprehensive and radical bill for federal censorship was introduced by William D. Upshaw of Georgia in 1925. Passage of the Upshaw Bill would require all persons engaged in any branch of the industry, whether producer, distributor, exhibitor, director, actor, artist, costumer, or photographer, to register with the commission. With the power to preview and license films, supervise production in the studios, fix rentals for films, and decide admission rates for theaters, the commissioner would also inspect and censor advertising material of all kinds. Revocation of a film's license would result from advertising any of the subjects forbidden in the films; bull fights, white slavery, commercialized vice, exaggerated sex appeal, crime, drunkenness, illicit love affairs, and religious offenses. A companion bill was introduced at the same time by William I. Swoope of Pennsylvania, who believed that motion pictures were articles of interstate commerce and that Congress had the right to control them. The industry had broken all promises to reform from within, declared Swoope, and federal regulation was needed. The hearing to create a Federal Motion Picture Commission began on April 14, 1926.[11]

The testimony of Dr. Charles Scanlon, Director of the Department of Moral Welfare of the Presbyterian Church, included thirty reasons for federal regulation, among them the accusation that the "repeated promises and failures of the industry to reform itself shows its insincerity or inability or both." The hearing's secondary goal was to analyze juvenile crime in its relation to motion pictures, and statements were heard by clergymen, educators, and social workers that movies were the primary cause of delinquency in America. Whereas adults knew that movie criminals were punished and that justice prevailed, impressionable children only saw the bravado of the hero on the billboard and on the screen. C. C. Pettijohn, MPPDA's legal counsel, submitted a written statement by Judge Ben B. Lindsey, who stated that in twenty-seven years of counseling juveniles he had never found one case in which crimes could be attributed to motion pictures.[12]

Previous hearings concentrated on controlling many aspects of the film industry, but this was the first to include lengthy discussions on advertising. Pettijohn contested the committee's plan to regulate newspaper advertising, labeling it prior censorship. Reverend Canon Chase called it simply an effective way of controlling what went into an ad, and countered that all newspapers already restricted certain advertisements before placement. This was not prior restraint, he stated, but merely regulation, or "freedom of the press within certain lines." Six days of hearings, statements from over thirty speakers, and hundreds of letters and articles submitted for and against passage of the Upshaw-Swoope bill produced 480 pages of printed matter, only to be relegated to the library shelves. The bill was never brought to a House vote.[13]

Aware of the comments still being made by religious groups, individuals, and newspaper editors, Hays worked to defuse criticism of movies and advertising. In 1926, he was proud to report to the Advertising Club of New York that the motion picture was now the leader in amusement advertising, and that out of fifteen thousand different pieces of ad copy prepared each day, only a few slips were reported. False and misleading ads had been corrected to the point that "you can now take the word of a theater manager as to the kind and quality of goods that he has to sell." Extolling the accomplishments of the industry, his underlying theme was always that self-regulation was preferable to censorship.[14]

The Federal Trade Commission, however, called self-regulation without rules or a method of enforcement inadequate. Commissioner Abram F. Myers called for a Trade Practice Conference of the Motion Picture Industry in 1927. Resolutions adopted under Group I as fair-trade practices required the adherence of producers, distributors, and exhibitors to both the *Formula* and to the newly devised *Don'ts and Be Carefuls,* a list of eleven subjects prohibited in motion pictures, and 33 subjects that could be used, but required careful handling. According to Hays, the conference strengthened the MPPDA's self-regulation philosophy. All MPPDA members, as well as non-members, were required to employ standards of decency in movie content and honesty in advertising, enforceable by the FTC. Shortly after this a Los Angeles editor reminded readers that since the Trade Conference had banned profanity, several flagrant examples had been seen on billboards. Describing the posters for "Ladies from Hell," and "Where the Hell is Mulligan," as the school where children were obtaining profanity lessons, he questioned why they should be reprimanded "in their moment of impatience when they hastily inquire, 'Where the hell is Mother?'" "Where the hell is Will Hays?" demanded the editor.[15]

Film producers and exhibitors often agreed in principle -- sensational advertising was apt to produce disappointed customers and enraged critics -- and would on occasion change their exploitation plans for a particular picture when Hays insisted. Despite the occasional relapses, many of the studios co-operated. Others praised the MPPDA's efforts in supervising member companies' advertising to "make certain that it does not violate the canons of good taste." At a time when between 500 and 800 films were being produced each year, and an average of 15,000 ads created each day, it is difficult to determine what percentage received complaints. Judging from published accounts, good news is not news, which gives a false impression that the advertising grievances outweighed the acclamations. Editorial cartoonists are sometimes an indication of the measure of an issue's importance. In 1927, *New York World* published a cartoon which facetiously described how Will Hays maintained the morality of the movies. "The Man in the Brown Derby Hat" solemnly explains Hays' wonderful accomplishments to a child as they pass by billboard after billboard of provocative ads.[16]

Hays routinely informed member companies of their progress and their failings. In one report to the publicity departments he emphasized that deleterious advertising was muddling the censorship situation, and defined the people with whom he had to deal as either the paid reform group, "who are ever at the business of setting up a bogey so they may make a living by tearing it down," or the non-picture goers who thought of films in terms of the ads they saw. He preferred not to have a department that previewed the advertising before publication, he warned, but it may become a necessity. The only way to kill censorship was to guard the advertising as closely as the pictures themselves.[17]

In the 1930s, the techniques that capitalized on sex and aggression were made necessary by the Great Depression. Weekly attendance in 1930 was 100 million, but by 1932, and continuing through 1935, it had dropped to around 60 million. Expanding their operations in the late twenties to convert to sound, the financially burdened studios found themselves cutting back in the early thirties. While the production and distribution ends of the industry were hard hit, the exhibitors suffered the most; 20 percent of the nation's theaters had gone bankrupt. Advertising departments were either severely reduced or abolished, and ad quality declined as men were transferred to other work. To increase ticket sales, audiences were lured with the excitement of underworld figures, sexual adventures, and escape from the real, and drab, world. The effect of this was "a flood of sensational and salacious posters and newspaper ads." Martin Quigley, editor of the *Exhibitors' Herald World*, observed that a few of the most successful circuits, whose advertising had always been characterized by a certain dignified restraint, had been churning out ads that might well belong to old-time burlesque shows.[18]

Introducing a bill in 1930, Representative Grant Hudson of Michigan threatened to place Hollywood under the jurisdiction of the United States government. His proposed commission would censor billboard, newspaper, and magazine ads, as well as supervise the filmmaking. Offensive advertising, misleading statements or illustrations, and wording contrary to film standards would result in the loss of the producer's license, whether done with or without his knowledge. Supervision, not censorship, was necessary, Hudson averred, because "impressions through the eye are much more powerful than those which come through the ear...and movies are the greatest force to-day in molding character for good and evil."[19]

The advent of sound films intensified the debate over content and control of pictures, and members of Congress called the *Don'ts and Be Carefuls* inadequate. To forestall government measures, and prove that the industry was serious about self regulation, a long and controversial process culminated in the implementation of the Production Code in the spring of 1930. Encompassing Judeo-Christian values, the Code's creators hoped it would effectively regulate the movies and eliminate critics. Member film companies agreed with its general principles to produce no picture that would lower viewer's moral standards, present anything but correct standards of life, or ridicule natural or human law. Twelve separate sections of the Code covered every aspect of filmmaking from the use of taboo words to the characters' costuming. While the Production Code was to raise the standards for film content, problems with advertising remained to be addressed.[20]

To defeat the old habits of sensational marketing, and to pacify the critics, Hays tendered a set of advertising standards to reflect the same high ideals and aims of the Production Code. On June 6, 1930, the publicity directors of nineteen member companies approved the twelve points of the Advertising Code. A press release issued by Carl E. Milliken, MPPDA Secretary, called for the cooperation of newspapers, and promised the public that a copy of the Code would be sent to every motion picture theater manager in the country. The provisions of the Code would apply to press books, newspaper ads, trailers, outdoor displays, novelty distribution, and all other forms of exploitation.[21]

An analysis of the Code reveals the similarities to the Production Code. Respect for the clergy, for law officers, and for other nationalities had to be maintained, specific methods of crime, profanity, and vulgarity had to be avoided, and portrayals of liquor use were restricted. All press books, and advertising accessories had to be submitted to the MPPDA office upon completion. If the Code was violated, the Association would bring the infractions to the attention of the advertising and publicity directors. In case of disagreement, offenders would have recourse to a committee of three of their own kind. If still not satisfied they could appeal to three directors of the MPPDA publicity department, whose findings would be final.

Hays was pleased to have another code of ethics to quell the motion picture critics, calling it "another milestone in industrial self-government; another challenge to those who profess to believe that the fine flowers of progress spring from the fungus of censorship." Reactions varied, ranging from total optimism to accusations that it was too vague. Although Hays made it known that all of the advertising and publicity directors of the members companies worked on the code together, Howard Lewis, who wrote about the business aspects of the film industry, reported that the code was opposed by some because it was impressed upon them and did not originate with them. *Variety* wrote that the Hays' organization was "tipping its hand to the censors that there is something wrong after all with pictures and they must be guided by regulations." One of the largest and most important producer called the Hays' code "nerve, if nothing else," claiming that "only a few of the companies, mostly outside of the Hays' office, are responsible for the salacious matter, if a distinction can be drawn between what's salacious and what's spicy."[22]

Editors of major newspapers hailed the code as "a wholesome step forward," "another victory for honesty and truth," and a cure for the "old circus method of trying to sell an attraction by sheer force of language." The manager of one of the largest chain theaters in New York, however, thought the code superfluous as those involved in advertising were already aware of what was harmful to the industry. Arguing against the measure, he felt that business was already bad, and if they adhered to the code it would become worse. Berating the MPPDA for paying too much attention to professional reformers, he complained that if they could not "arouse the curiosity and imagination of our public by the use of a little creative showmanship, we may as well restrict our advertisement to just the name of the theater and picture." Ironically, the majority of newspaper advertisements were already of this nature.[23]

The MPPDA's new codes and constant surveillance did not stem the threats of state and federal regulation. Senator Smith W. Brookhart of Iowa reported to Congress that 167 censorship measures in 43 states had been proposed in 1931; however, 161 had been defeated. Disturbed by the increasing number of violent and love-making scenes portrayed on the screen, but in particular how they were advertised to children, Brookhart entered the following ads into the *Congressional Record:* "Sex appeal? These three babies have everything -- roguish eyes, come-hither smiles, shapely legs, and curves that would make Ziegfeld green with envy. And do they give the boys a red-hot lesson in Parisian whoopee making? Children, always 25 cents," and "Let's go native. Imagine this merry gang of young moderns cut loose on a South Sea isle. A glowing hula moon their only chaperon -- women and whoopee. Children, all day 20 cents." [24]

Hays continuously promoted the improvements caused by the Advertising Code. Replying to a letter from Senator James Couzens about a censorship pamphlet circulating within Congress, Hays sent him a copy of the entertainment section of the *New York Times* which he thought was a good example of the type of advertisements running in thousands of other newspapers. He also enclosed the latest copy of the *Exhibitors' Herald World*, which reported that since the adoption of the Code ad copy was 90 percent better. If the movies were still being misrepresented by over-exaggeration on the billboards, this was probably the fault of the New York ad directors, who, working only with a title and a set of stills, "built up copy around a picture they knew little about." Episodic slips were attributed to the fact that advertising men, working under pressure to stimulate attendance, often worked in haste, which led to mistakes.[25]

While there were legitimate differences of opinion, MPPDA members were reminded that "An ad is either moral or immoral." Hays was reportedly proud that advertising had improved in character, but the title of his address to the New York Business Paper Editors, "We Need Bigger and Better Co-operation," belied his optimism. His personal notes also revealed disappointment at the continued tendency toward lurid ads, bad advertising in preview trailers, and violations that seemed more frequent. If the twelve rules had been faithfully followed, he wrote, they would have been sufficient, instead, the movies were "Tiffany products with Minsky advertising."[26]

The summer of 1933 brought renewed attempts to regulate motion picture advertising.

In addition to several new censorship or "regulation" bills, as congressmen preferred to call them, the National Recovery Act sought to control the industry. Conceived by the Roosevelt administration, the NRA was designed to regulate all industry in order to boost economic growth. Enacted on June 16, 1933, the act allowed industries of every type to produce their own rules of fair business practices. Similar to the Trade Practice Conference, essentially all producing companies would have to abide by the Production and Advertising Codes whether or not they belonged to the MPPDA. Display of the NRA's Blue Eagle banner would symbolize compliance to Article VII of General Trade Policy Provisions, and a promise to maintain the best standards of advertising and publicity procedures.[27]

Christian Century magazine objected to the portion of the NRA Code that would allow the motion picture industry to follow the rules they had already set up, i.e., the Production and Advertising Codes. Demanding that the President not sign the NRA Code until provisions were made for the motion picture's responsibility to society, they pointed out the Code's previous guarantee of good taste in advertising, and Hays' failure to control the type of ads they found too prevalent: "This 1933 'Don't Care' gal has PERSONALITY--swinging hips--bedroom eyes...she just doesn't give a damn!" In their opinion, the film industry failed to commit itself to proper advertising under the NRA code.[28]

Representative Wright Patman of Texas shared their opinion. He introduced a regulation bill in June of 1933 because he believed that the commercial, industrial, and political depression was due in part to moral causes, and that the motion picture, as one of the greatest educational influences in the land, should contribute to a new moral and spiritual recovery. Failing to see the success of self-regulation, he denounced the industry's promise to reform while turning out pictures that had become "more extreme in overemphasizing sex, glorifying crime, (and) encouraging banditry ... as common and proper features of American life." As with most measures, it would be unlawful to export or distribute any motion picture or its advertisements that harmfully portrayed customs of any other nation, ridiculed any race, nationality, or religion, tended to debase or corrupt morals, or showed disrespect for the law. The constitutionality of the measure, warned Patman, came from movies being in the same class as amusements, theaters, and circuses, and could not be governed by the same laws that control the press and free speech.[29]

To further control controversy, the MPPDA set up the Advertising Advisory Council (AAC) in November, 1933. Hays wanted a department in which one man's interpretation would be the final word on all advertising material. Headquarters were situated in New York City, where the Council provided quick service for the major companies' publicity departments, most of whom were also centered in New York. To accommodate the agencies on the west coast, the MPPDA set up an office in Hollywood. Where the original agreement in the Advertising Code called for inspection of the finished materials, the AAC policy required that samples of posters, heralds, newspaper ads, and accessories be submitted for approval prior to completion. So confident was Hays of the success of a one-man Code executor, he made it known that the same principle may someday be applied to the Production Code to more efficiently enforce the theme, content, and treatment of motion pictures. The new AAC received so many praises the MPPDA eliminated its clipping service. Ninety-eight percent of advertising was approved, and letters of complaint nearly vanished. Hearings on the Patman bill were held March 19, 1934, despite the AAC's good results.[30]

Pressure for reform from the Catholic Legion of Decency and five more federal censorship bills caused a reaction from the film industry, resulting in a new defense measure. At the MPPDA Board of Directors meeting on June 13, 1934, Hays proposed applying the principles of the AAC to the Production Code. Under Joseph I. Breen, a new department, the Production Code Administration (PCA), would ensure that the films themselves would be subject to rigorous perusal prior to release. PCA procedures would incorporate the AAC department. Initial approval of a motion picture by the PCA was accompanied by a letter to its producer stating that the seal would be issued upon agreement of four points, one of which stated that all publicity matter be submitted to the AAC and that only sanctioned material be used.[31]

In his *1934 Annual Report*, Hays extolled the accomplishments of the AAC and claimed that objectionable ads were a thing of the past. Ridding themselves of sex appeal, he wrote, the advertising now "attracts many persons whom it formerly repelled." Not all agreed that the AAC was successful. Complaints about risque ads continued to be made by the Legion of Decency and by the public, while others thought the ads were now too stodgy. According to Russell Holman, Director of Publicity at Paramount-Famous-Lasky, the AAC director's opinions on advertising were "hay-wire," and that "everybody has progressed but us." To enforce their voluntary guidelines of advertising, the AAC implemented a fine of not less than $1000 nor more than $5000 for advertising offenses.[32]

The first of many hearings to prohibit block booking and blind selling came in 1936. Although bills had been introduced yearly since 1927 to prevent the industry's trade practice of selling movies to exhibitors in a block for the next year, sight unseen, no measure had been voted on in either the Senate or the House. Senator Brookhart, the first to introduce a measure to eliminate this practice, did so because he felt that the Codes had failed; the anxiety of the producers to make pictures pleasing to the audiences caused their products to become degrading, thereby forcing them to sell them in blocks rather than individually. Ironically, block booking, which was purely a business practice, was held responsible for the failure of self-regulation and the depraved moral character of the films and the advertising. At one of the hearings C.C. Pettijohn became so exasperated about the confusion as to what the prohibition of block booking would accomplish, he sarcastically requested it be made a felony for people to send a letter or telegram to any member of Congress asking them to vote for or against a bill which they themselves had not read.[33]

The block booking hearings of 1936, 1939, and 1941 revealed many similarities: most of the same people and/or their organizations testified at every hearing, theater owners were found to be both for and against the prohibition, and advertising methods played a large part in determining how people judged the movies and the industry's business practices. Proponents of the bills felt that if the exhibitors could buy any movie they wished, they would choose only first-rate, highly moral movies for their audiences. Neither did they want the exhibitor to be forced to buy a movie ahead of time that might possibly be banned, because the ads for those movies drew the largest crowds. While Pettijohn testified that advertising served its purpose by revealing picture content, and informing the public what to expect, those issues did not matter to the bill proponents. What mattered was that the sexual and violent scenes in movies and advertising adversely affected both young and old. After reading aloud the advertisements for "Ten Days in a Nudist Camp," with "unnatural sin," "orgies of wild parties," and "unleashed passion," Senator David L. Boren of Oklahoma commented: "if I can be convinced that passing any legislation short of actual censorship, which I do not believe in, will put a stop to that sort of stuff, and prevent that sort of thing being available, especially for exhibition to children -- I would want such legislation." Prohibition against block booking did not become effective until December 31, 1948, 23 years after the measure was first proposed.[34]

Several events during the 1940s wrought changes in American moral behaviors. Liquor consumption escalated, burlesque and strip tease shows increased, and people of all ages spent more on books, concerts, and movies. The advent of "girlie" magazines, and the ever-increasing popularity of Hollywood sex symbols and pinup girls, relaxed traditional standards. World War II also affected changes in society, and those who returned from overseas did so with an increased worldliness and a new view of moral values. The foreign film market introduced not only innovative types of movies, but also new advertising ideas. In addition, current problems with advertising, Hays noted, could be attributed to "the growth of more daring feminine fashions," and "the candid-camera craze playing up gore and horror whenever possible."[35]

The MPPDA was forced to review its publicity procedures in 1947 as a result of the controversy over Howard Hughes' movie, "The Outlaw" (1941). The billboard at San Francisco's Geary Theater of "Miss Russell, half recumbent and equivalently revealed in a sultry moment on a mound of hay," was not approved by the AAC, and caused an onslaught of public protest. Due to personal circumstances, Hughes pulled his movie until 1946, when he re-released it with an advertising campaign more outrageous than the first. Submitted to the AAC were 202 stills, of which 187 were approved, and forty-six newspaper advertisements of which only twenty-six were acceptable. Refusing to make the necessary corrections, Hughes appealed to the AAC and lost. The PCA could not grant a seal of approval because the public would assume that the promotional matter was also sanctioned. Releasing it without the seal, Hughes was called before the MPAA board for violating the Advertising Code. He resigned from the MPAA and filed a six-million dollar damage suit against the MPAA, arguing that the Production and Advertising Codes violated his First Amendment guarantee of free speech. Hughes lost his case for two reasons. The MPPA did not prohibit him from exhibiting his picture, but only refused him the seal of approval. Secondly, Hughes' right of free speech was not violated because his membership in the MPAA meant that it had every right to deny his advertisements.[36]

Commenting on Hughes' promotion techniques, Simon Levy, Hollywood's AAC representative, defined good taste in advertising as what "naturally follows more or less the changing ethics and moral standards of the general public," and felt that a less than 1 percent rejection rate demonstrated the effectiveness of the Advertising Code. Charles Schlaifer, Publicity Director of Twentieth Century-Fox, disagreed. Concerned about the recent events, and the increasingly risque exploitation methods, he argued that the advertisers were was "becoming careless about the face they presented to the public." In October, 1947, after nine months of preparation, Schlaifer announced the Advertising Code revisions. Intensifying their stance against repulsive and dishonest material, all of the major producers and their advertising departments signed a new Code that extended its application to every form of exploitation, and removed any loopholes that may cause technical evasions. For several months Schlaifer and his committee traveled across the country promoting the new Advertising Code, concentrating on exhibitors and non-members of the MPAA (previously MPPDA). Consequently, rejections decreased: ad copy fell from 4.19 percent to 3.69 percent, and trailer copy dropped from 16.4 percent to 2.2 percent.[37]

Renewed criticism of the glorification of crime and criminals resulted in revisions to both

MPAA Codes. Concerned about the perceived increase in juvenile crime after World War II, the Criminal Law Section of the American Bar Association (ABA), in 1947, undertook investigations of the mass media's role in promoting delinquency. Their research attempted to discover scientific evidence that would link violent media images with crime in society. From a series of conferences between Arthur Freund, chairman of the section of criminal law, members of the ABA, and media public relations men and their lawyers, Freund concluded that the solution was to push for restrictive national legislation to force the media to behave responsibly. Media representatives feared that the ABA, who had close ties with Congress, would support federal or state censorship to curb the media.[38]

By December 1947, the MPAA, now under the direction of Eric Johnston, announced an addition to the Production Code, the first since 1930. Although the subject of crime was already extensively covered, the amended version stated that no picture that dealt with the lives of notorious criminals would be approved unless the characters shown in the film were punished for their crimes. Revisions also included prohibiting movie titles that were salacious, obscene, profane, and vulgar, or those that the public associated with characters or occupations unsuitable for the screen. Bringing the Advertising Code in line with the new regulation, ads could no longer exploit any names or occupations of any matter disallowed by the Production Code.[39]

Senate action against permitting the film industry to capitalize on the names of stars involved in public scandals resulted in the next change to the Advertising Code. Entries in the *Congressional Record* during this time demonstrate the tremendous influence that Hollywood products had upon people everywhere. In 1950, Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado proposed to license motion picture actors, a measure that would be "a practical method whereby the mad dogs of the industry may be put on a leash to protect public morals, nothing more." Reading aloud from the "Stromboli" display ads, he noted that nothing was said about the plot, but instead, as a common pattern used in motion picture advertising, all the ads had been built around the leading lady and her director:

> I have before me an actual photograph of the billing of a motion picture house in Colorado coaxing in customers to see Stromboli with huge banners reading: Raging Passion. The Star Bergman. The inspired Rossellini. The great lover. Senators say it is red-hot lurid sex. Rossellini says its wonderful. This same type of inciting advertising appeared in nationally circulated magazines which go into millions of American homes. That sort of misrepresentation and repulsive exploitation by the motion picture industry of the misconduct of its performers sounds like the come-on ballyhoo of a cheap burlesque house.

Support for Johnson's bill came from Senator Ed Gossett of Texas, who rued the fact that on the same day the Girl Scouts of America were being incorporated, the Washington newspapers carried "in blazing advertisements and cards on the street-cars" announcements of the movie's grand opening. "We are commercializing vice," he stated, "and it is a reflection upon the character and integrity of the American people."[40]

The bill also produced several opponents. Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, while sharing Johnson's objective of promoting the highest possible morality and curbing juvenile crime, called for cancelling the hearing and giving the motion picture industry the opportunity to work out its own solutions to this problem. Although his actions were not "in any way meant to condone the appalling commercialization of sin that has occasionally marred Hollywood advertising, or for that matter, other business advertising that has violated good taste," he added that compulsory licensing should not be the result of a few disgusting, isolated instances of moral misconduct or suggestive advertising. After meeting with fifteen members of the MPAA, who assured Senator Johnson they shared his convictions and promised that an amendment would be made to the Advertising Code, the Senator postponed the hearing. On June 21, 1950, Eric Johnston announced the fourteenth provision of the Code, which banned advertising that exploited the misconduct of performers.[41]

The First Amendment rights granted motion pictures in 1952 produced a gradual change in their theme and content. Filmmakers found less restrictions, and began expressing ideas previously disallowed, evidenced by a genre of films that tended to reflect realistic situations, to portray life as it really is, not merely how it should be. Movie censors were not as active as they once were, and as there were only six states that had systems of censorship in 1941, by 1959 the number had been reduced to four. U.S. Supreme Court decisions frustrated members of Congress who were determined to uphold traditional values. No longer could films be denied a license merely because their subject matter was adultery, nor did one indecent passage render an entire film obscene.[42]

As a result of changes in movie content, ads previously accused of portraying more than what could possibly be shown in the film itself were now more accurate depictions. Although less misleading than they had been in thirty years, they were perhaps more extravagant for several reasons. Attendance in 1951 had dropped 34 million since 1946. The decline in audience was due to new entertainment and leisure-time activities, and, in particular, the introduction of television. The movie ads had to attract attention to induce potential patrons out of the house and into the theater. John A. H. Rehm, of Paris & Peart Advertising Agency observed that newspapers seemed to be carrying an increasing amount of copy "decorated with bosomy gals, overstandard cheesecake and clinch close-ups, all amply larded with text suggestive of lurid sex episodes in movies." The reason, he pointed out, was that television had a certain code of decency and could not rope in audiences with similar promises of thrills. Jay E. Gordon, film critic, called it frightening when an unnamed motion picture official stated that film marketing must "get back to good, old-time, loud, slam-bang, ballyhoo showmanship."[43]

The significant liberalization during the 1950s and the greater freedom from censorship granted the motion picture inevitably led to resistance to such changes. The traditional institutions, such as church and community, competed with the influence of the movies and their advertising. Standards of morality and good taste still had to be regulated to protect the public from social, psychological, and moral harm. Motion pictures and their advertising became the subject of an intense eight-year study of pornography and youth crime. From the period 1948 to 1956, juvenile crime had more than doubled while this age group increased only 19 percent, and Senator Estes Kefauver's Subcommittee looked for the contributing factors.[44]

The hundreds of letters the Subcommittee received from individuals, organizations, clinical psychologists, and psychiatrists, who were concerned with the media's deleterious effect upon children, led to an inquiry of the effects of crime, violence, sadism, brutality, and sex, not only in movies, but the manner in which they were advertised. Testimony in the Kefauver hearings indicated that murder, theft, beatings, and most other crimes resulted from maladjustments that children picked up from the kind of literature and pictures they saw. Social experts testified that young people who had undeveloped attitudinal frameworks, poor emotional relationships with their parents, or were in the throes of a frustration-aggression complex, were found to gain support and ideas from viewing aggressively brutal and violent scenes both in pictorial forms and in the ad terminology. Ads that drew complaints were ones that portrayed females in the height of either sexual passion or anger, holding revolvers, and combining sex and violence in the most graphic manners. In text and illustration, a considerable proportion of them were believed to be pornographic.[45]

Kefauver recognized that while there was a rising tide of public resentment against some of the ads, it was not the majority of them that were represented at the hearing. But neither was it a healthy situation to be the focus of criticism by so many organizations. Analyzing hundreds of advertising examples, the Kefauver investigation found several that violated the Advertising Code; one ad was out of congruity with the film content, two were misleading, and a few were disrespectful of the police. Gordon White, director of the AAC, offered full cooperation in toning down sexual suggestiveness, brutality, and violence. Taking the exhibits from the hearing to publicity director meetings in Los Angeles and New York, MPPA members promised to make movie ads completely conform to the Advertising Code by the latter part of 1955. In 1956, the Kefauver Subcommittee reported in its final conclusion that the content of both motion pictures and their ads had greatly improved.[46]

The last hearing before the advent of film classification came as a result of a crusade by Representative Kathryn Granahan of Pennsylvania to investigate pornographic matter sent to adolescents through the mails. The Postal Subcommittee's campaign also generated an immense response from an outraged public. Hundreds of letters poured in, targeting motion picture ads as the chief offenders of good taste. Those found most objectionable described crime movies' excessive brutality in lurid detail. Other ads were accused of utilizing sexual innuendo while appearing to remain within the bounds of discretion. Advertising played up, exaggerated, and distorted lurid features that may have been only incidental in the actual presentation. Examples of complaints included a letter from a mother in Michigan who wrote that with "smutty advertising and curious teenagers seeing and hearing too much suggestive material it is no wonder that crime and illegitimacy are on the rise."[47]

As a result of information gleaned from various sectors of the public and Post Office officials, Granahan introduced H.R. 7379 on May 26, 1959. This corrective measure, which, if enacted into law, would strengthen the Postmaster General's efforts to carry out existing laws to exclude obscene matter from the mail. Although the Subcommittee's basic jurisdiction related to the postal service, the complaints received about overdramatization of sex in movie ads caused a shift in objectives. Originally concentrating on putting teeth into the law to halt the pornography business, Congress now felt compelled to study its relationship to motion pictures, magazines, and books. Granahan reported that an investigation of the motion picture industry was necessary because the Advertising and Production Codes established in 1930 had lost their effectiveness; producers had been filming and advertising materials which appeared to be in complete violation of the spirit and letter of the Codes. Special attention was to be given to the elimination of objectionable advertising material in the newspapers and magazines -- especially those sent through the mail. Called to testify were the Motion Picture Producers of America (MPAA), the Magazine Publishers' Association (MPA), and the American Book Publishers' Council. After forty years of denying that self-regulation worked, Congress was now asking the film industry to police itself.

Eric Johnston, MPAA president, surprised at the request for his testimony at a hearing that was investigating mail-order pornography, repudiated the idea that the film industry was involved in producing, distributing or condoning obscenity. Citing the motion picture as one of the greatest and far ranging of the communications media, he emphasized its two prime responsibilities to the public that supported them: maintaining basic standards of morality and decency in pictures and their ads, and making their product known in advance to the public. Denying allegations that its public responsibility had diminished, Johnston made it clear that the industry could not return to the Codes they had never left. "Treatment," he stated, was the key to the Codes, "not eliminating sex and crime and violence because these are important elements in the long, dramatic human story since the beginning of time."[48]

Mrs. Granahan assured Johnston that the members of the Subcommittee were not suggesting that the members of the MPAA were dealing in obscenity, but that their advertising teetered on the borderline, overemphasizing and overdramatizing sex. Asked if he felt the ads were as scrupulously guarded as movie content, Johnston replied that the advertising was possibly more important as it reached a larger number of people. The fact that ads could be very compelling was the reason they maintained strict adherence to the Advertising Code's principles. Agreeing with Granahan that ads were definitely "lures," just as were ads for toothpaste, gargles, and dandruff," he added that they kept their lures "within the bounds of both decency and realism...(no) person need go to a movie in the United States blindly or with lack of knowledge of what the picture is all about."[49]

Despite their extravagance, advertising technique in the 1950s, in Gordon White's opinion, maintained a very definite point of honesty: even if exaggerated, it was to the benefit of the patron. For the first time in many years, ads were more true to the films, accurately demonstrating their theme: honest advertising served its purpose, allowing the patrons to be better judges. Parents who did not want their children to see sex or violence were warned, having been given a fair indication of what was presented in the movie. Subcommittee members disagreed.

The use of double-meaning phrases allowed the ads to remain within the bounds of discretion, but their total impact was provocative. Parents could control children's access to particular movies, but could not censor the ads thatthey were daily exposed to in newspapers, and on posters and billboards.[50]

While the Subcommittee conceded that objectionable ads represented only a very small portion of total advertising, it was their contention that even a few were too many when children's morals were at stake. Representative James Oliver of Maine presented several examples of advertisements that he found objectionable, although not obscene. An ad for "The Best of Everything" (Twentieth Century Fox, 1959), contained offensive wording. "Find Yourself Another Man," "We All Want to Play at Being a Wife Once in a While," "I Thought We Were Going to Get Married," and "I Want to Have a Baby," were "not in good taste," he stated. The ad for "Beloved Infidel" (Twentieth Century Fox, 1959) was purported to have sadistic implications with the words: "Who are you, anyway, my lady of the gutter? I am going to kill you." Replying that he had become an expert over the years in distinguishing inferences in this kind of copy, White stated that no sadism was involved, and that the advertising was only being true to the film content.

Admitting that there was a great deal of temptation for people writing the ads to do some very spicy stuff, White blamed this on the slackening off of moral standards all over the country and the fact that writers had to work under the pressure of competition. If there was a general moral fall, he stated, they were not "leading the parade, but rather . . . bringing up the rear, or pretty close to the rear." Magazines, he thought, were much worse; one issue contained more sex than they ever had in all of their ads or films. Granahan countered that children did not ordinarily see magazines, but they did see the movie ads.[51]

The hearing in 1960 appeared to center on the premise that the MPAA alone was responsible for advertising abuses, wherever they appeared. Although Granahan recommended concentrating on the offensive advertising in newspapers and magazines sent through the mail, not one newspaper publisher was called upon to comment. Most of the public complaints sent to the Subcommittee described the contents of the ads they found undesirable, but rarely specified the film's name or producer. While not unusual for the general public to be unaware of which members of the film industry were part of the MPPDA, it is remarkable that the Postal Subcommittee, after months of investigation, failed to differentiate. Even though the *New York Times* reported that the objective of the Subcommittee hearing apparently was to distinguish Hollywood products from films that did not subscribe to the MPAA's Production and Advertising Codes, the Subcommittee conducted their hearing on the assumption that the MPAA was responsible for all films and advertising shown in the country.

While the Advertising Code governed the output of the publicity departments of the eight leading film companies, who produced the majority of the advertisements, it did not cover the few American productions not carrying the Production Code seal, nor the many foreign productions that felt it unnecessary to join the MPAA or seek their approval. The Postal Subcommittee was more concerned with forcing the compliance of independent and foreign producers to the MPAA's Advertising Code, however, rather than with demanding they produce their own code of ethics.[52]

Calling on the motion picture and publishing industries to either set up an ethical code or to enforce the one already in place was a Congressional waste of time, according to the MPAA. Recently investigated by Kefauver's Subcommittee, the film industry, who purported to be aware of its responsibility toward the juvenile delinquency problem, and of the requirement to tighten and enforce its Production and Advertising Codes, felt it did not need to be re-investigated and re-warned. An immense amount of money, time, and effort was spent to amend a law allowing a more effective means of dealing with obscene mail. From the Postmaster General's initial clean-up campaign, which precipitated Granahan's investigation, to the President's endorsement of the bill took fifteen months, entailing numerous Congressional debates, meetings, and public hearings. The entire campaign raised many questions: what did mail-order pornography have to do with the film industry; to what end would Congress attempt to legislate morality; and why were Kefauver's previous studies of juvenile delinquency and motion pictures, which had determined that pornography was not a product of reputable film companies or their advertising departments, not taken into consideration by the Postal Subcommittee?

Ordering the motion picture industry to police itself was not by any means the end of the House or Senate investigations. Two bills similar to Granahan's were introduced by Glen Cunningham of Nebraska and George Wallhauser of New Jersey, who felt they were contributing to the deterioration of youth by their failure to enact additional laws to stop the mail order obscenity racket. Although their bills died in committee, by 1962 a dozen new bills were introduced to study the production and distribution of objectionable motion pictures and ads. Joseph Addabbo of New Jersey had hoped that the industry would reaffirm and strengthen its self-policing code as indicated in the 1960 hearing, but the growing storm of protest and indignation that had arisen throughout the country regarding the effects of certain motion pictures on human behavior convinced him his action was necessary. Again, an investigation of the movies and the ads was undertaken, not for censorship purposes, but to see if complaints were justified and if legislation was necessary. The most ironic of the proposed measures was the one in which Representative John Kyl of Iowa called for the film industry to establish and enforce a code of taste, decency, and morality similar to that established in 1930. If they resisted, he stated, government agencies would do it for them.[53]

If Congress failed to gain legal control of motion picture content and, in particular, the advertising, the Supreme Court, in 1966, put fear into the heart of the industry with its ruling in the *Ginzburg* case. The Court upheld the conviction of Ralph Ginzburg, not because his publications were obscene *per se*, but because the manner in which he advertised them made them obscene. Pandering was defined by the Court as purveying textual or graphic matter openly advertised to appeal to prospective patrons' erotic interests. Adding an additional element to the *Roth* test of obscenity, the pandering doctrine would now allow courts to consider the context of the production, sale, and publicity of materials that bordered on the obscene.[54]

Throughout the history of motion picture advertising, critics had always maintained that that was exactly what the advertisers were attempting to do: pander to the audience's base instincts. In the early part of the century patrons were enticed with a sexuality not fulfilled in the actual movie, but after 1950 the movies tended to deliver almost as much they promised. After the *Ginzburg* decision, *Film Bulletin* reported that advertisements for two innocuous family entertainment films were immediately sent back for alterations; Universal's "A Man Could Get Killed," because Melina Mercouri's scanties were a bit too scant, and MGM's "Around the World Under Sea," which put the lead star into a more modest bikini. Advertisers faced a dilemma of deciding whether to downplay sexual themes and design ads they may mislead patrons, or truthfully advertise content and hope that the advertising did not appeal to erotic interests and thus face obscenity charges[55]

Congress, aware of the increasing openness of film subjects, and alarmed at the influence on children, still found advertising a point of contention Classification was the sensible solution Foreign films and a few Hollywood distributing companies had begun to label adult films, but these decisions were voluntary and not uniform throughout the country On March 25, 1966, Senator Margaret Chase Smith proposed a special committee be formed to study the merits of a classification system By August 19, Jack Valenti, new president of the MPAA, attempted to convince Congress that the motion picture industry was capable of self-regulation and would chose voluntary classification over censorship as "the lesser of two evils" A new Advertising Code was implemented to insure that pictures not suitable for young people would be identified as "Suggested for Mature Audiences" His system would require the SMA rating to appear on all forms of movie advertising[56]

The MPAA's limited classification system was found to be unsuccessful, according to the large amount of correspondence Smith had received that specifically condemned advertising methods In 1968 a Senate hearing based on the Senator's resolution was held to determine if a special committee should be formed to gather data on film classification and enact legislation to set limitations on the exhibition of certain motion pictures to minors Despite Valenti's assurance of incorporating the rating into the advertisements, Smith found that the SMA designation was lacking in many newspaper ads in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles Not even all theaters in the Washington, D C area carried the logo The Director of the National Catholic Office for Motion Pictures supported the formation of such a committee, calling the SMA logo a failure as even educated people had difficulty finding it in the film ads Valenti opposed the establishment of a investigative committee, and revealed he had a new plan, still in the works, that would bar the showing of sexual or violent films to children under the age of sixteen.[57]

After five years of Congressional bills, studies, discussions, and hearings, the MPAA's Code and Rating Administration (CARA) became a reality. Conveyed by the advertising, the ratings of "G" for general audiences, "M" for adults and mature young people, "R" for restriction to those under 16-years of age not accompanied by parents, and "X," for admission only to those over the age of 16, would allow the public to determine the theme and content of films. The ratings would supposedly override any message or picture imparted by the ad itself, allowing the movie industry its freedom of expression and the public their freedom of choice. The changeover to the rating system brought a change of focus, attempting to restrict the audience rather than the films and the advertising.

Books, magazines, newspapers, comic books, film, theater, radio, and television all have gone through certain stages of having to agree to certain standards in order that they be socially acceptable. All have been challenged at some time to either police themselves or be subjected to governmental regulation. Dr. Frederick J. Hacker of the Medical Correctional Association found that social scapegoating attempts to single out the modern media of mass communication as the main culprits responsible for all that ailed the world. And, as Ralph Banay, pointed out during the Kefauver hearing in 1954: "The latest candidate for this prophylactic treatment is advertising." The movie ads may have offended public taste, but the industry was not guilty of soliciting adolescents with mail-order pornography. If the publicity departments could be blamed for anything it was for employing the same marketing elements used since the early 1900s. Although their effectiveness in selling has been debated, using sexuality and violence has always been a common technique in advertising, and the admen realized their power to draw.[58]

Motion picture advertising, throughout the century, has posed a challenge to the standards of decency, and from the early 1900s, the government has been continually involved in investigating motion picture content as well as its advertising, threatening to invoke federal rules. The often repeated sentiment of Congress was that the film industry's promises of self-regulation were "a frail reed to rely upon," and every few years, with the changeover in senators and representatives, the accusations started anew. Testimony given at nearly every hearing from 1916 through 1968 recounts the long list of broken promises to clean up the movies and their advertising, and countless entries in the *Congressional Record* indicate that the industry's Codes failed to keep the movies and the advertising in line with the nation's moral standards. The film industry itself, through self-regulation, sought to control marketing, not only to placate public displeasure, but to forestall Federal censorship. The industry has survived to this day, as James Gilbert aptly noted, by moderating, but not eliminating, controversy.[59]

Notes

1. Epes W. Sargent, *Picture Theatre Advertising*, (New York: Chalmers, 1915).

2. "Posters: Facts About The Big Paper," *Moving Picture World* 85, no. 4, March 26, 1927, 348; testimony of Wilbur F. Crafts, Superintendent of the International Reform Bureau, Washington, DC., U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Education, *Motion Picture Commission: Hearing on H.R. 14805*, 63rd Cong., 2nd sess., March 20, 1914, 184, (hereafter cited at the 1914 Hearing).

3. Hampton cited in Garth Jowett, *Film: The Democratic Art (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976)*,155; article by Fred Eastman, professor of religious literature and drama at the Chicago Theology Seminary, entered into the record by Grant M. Hudson, R - Mich., "Federal Control of the Movies," U. S. Congress, House, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., *Congressional Record* 74, February 27, 1931, 6454.

4. Quotation from testimony of Walter N. Seligsberg, representative of the Universal Film Manufacturing Co., 1914 Hearing, 121.

5. These bills included copyright laws, prize fights, financial operations, illegal propaganda techniques, regulation of interstate mail, political beliefs of the industry's writers, producers and actors, moral standards of movie stars, and monopoly issues; see Appendix II.

6. Will Hays, MPPDA Report, 10, Part I: December 1921 through March 1929, reel 43 of 43, frame 77-79, Will H. Hays Papers, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis (hereafter cited as WHH Papers).

7. Brady reportedly made the statement to William Chase, in a private conversation, that he wanted a gentlemen's agreement. Brady had also appeared before the New York Joint Legislative Investigating Committee in 1917, the Chicago Motion Picture Commission in 1920, and six different State legislatures in the West, to speak against censorship bills by promising effective self-regulation of his industry, U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Proposed Investigation of the Motion-Picture Industry: Hearing on S. Res. 142,* 67th Cong., 1st sess., January 25, 1922, 3-5 (hereafter cited as the 1922 Hearing). Quotation from Brady cited in remarks by Henry L. Myers, D - Mont., U. S. Congress, Senate, 67th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 62, August 24, 1921, 5621-5622.

8. Testimony of Senator Henry L. Myers, Montana, and Rev. William Sheafe Chase, 1922 Hearing, 2, 20.

9. By 1921 state censorship bills had been introduced in Iowa, Maine, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Carolina and Wisconsin. All were defeated. Congressional hearings to place the motion picture industry under the jurisdiction of a federal commission included the Hughes Bill (H.R. 14805), 1914; the Smith-Hughes Bill (H.R. 456), 1916; the Herreld Bill (H.R. 11557), 1920; the Gore Bill (S.R. 3674), 1920; and the Appleby Bill (H.R. 10577), 1922; all were defeated or lost in committee. The MPPDA was sometimes referred to as the Association or the Hays Office. Another organization was the Motion Picture Producers' Association (MPPA), which was created in 1924 to take care of local matters in Hollywood. Membership was almost identical in both groups. While the MPPDA was headquartered in New York City, they had an office in Hollywood in the same suite as the MPPA. In 1945 the MPPDA was changed to the MPAA, the Motion Picture Association of America. Quotation from Will H.Hays, *The Memoirs of Will H. Hays*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1955), 329-330.

10. Bills introduced were H.R. 8626 on 10/11/21, H.R. 10577 on 02/22/22, H.R. 10291 on 02/06/22, and H.R. 6821 on 02/09/24; see Appendix II. The AMPA, founded in 1916, were active in fighting for cleanliness in motion picture advertising. Many of the MPPDA members' advertising and publicity men belonged to the

AMPA. Account of meeting, *New York Times*, August 29, 1924, 6:3.

11. Remarks by William A. Swoope, R - Pa., in "Federal Regulation of Motion Pictures," U.S. Congress, House, 68th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record 66*, February 14, 1925, 3741.

12. Testimony of Dr. Charles Scanlon, General Director of the Department of Moral Welfare of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, Pittsburgh, PA., U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Education, *Proposed Federal Motion Picture Commission: Hearing on H.R. 4094 and H.R. 6233*, 69th Cong., 2nd sess., February 27, 1936, 43 (hereafter cited as the 1926 Hearing); article by Paul T. Gilbert, "Lindsey Hits Film Censorship Plan to Reduce Crime," *Chicago Evening Post*, February 10, 1926, 1926 Hearing, 263.

13. Testimony of Canon William Sheafe Chase, D.D., 1926 Hearing, 215.

14. Will H. Hays' address before the Advertising Club of New York, "Advertising and The Motion Picture," published by the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., March 31, 1926, 4.

15. The Trade Practice Conference was held October 10, 1927, *Annual Report of the Federal Trade Commission for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1928*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1928, 6-8. One of the duties of the FTC since it was established in 1915 was to regulate advertising content. The *Yale Law Journal*, in "Scope of the Jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission Over False and Misleading Advertising," 1931, reports that "Because of the way the Trade Commission is set up and their reluctance to attack business ethics by criminal methods there remained a vast amount of advertising virtually secure from civil or criminal attack, and censurable only by private associations of manufactures, publishers and advertisers...The work of Better Business Bureaus affiliated with the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World and representing practically every phase of commerce is far more widespread and probably more valuable than that of the Commission," 617-631. Editor is Greely Koltz, *Los Angeles South Park Bulletin*, cited in "How Much Resolutions Mean to Some Producers," *Harrison's Reports*, December 24, 1927.

16. Quotation from letter to Dennis F. O'Brien, legal department of United Artists, from Gabriel L. Hess, attorney for the MPPDA, November 22, 1929, UA Collection, O'Brien Legal File, Record Group II, Box 97/1, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison (hereafter cited as the O'Brien Files). Hess also stated that the MPPDA had assured various press associations that fake publicity stories would no longer be imposed upon them. H.T. Weber, "The Man In The Brown Derby Hat," *New York World*, June, 1927.

17. Hays' statements cited on page 10 of MPPDA report by Will H. Hays, 1929, Part I: December 1921 - March 1929, Reel 43 of 43, frame 77-79, WHH Papers.

18. Quotation from John Elliot Williams, "They Stopped at Nothing," *Hollywood Quarterly* 1, 1946, 275; editorial by Martin J. Quigley, *Exhibitors Herald World* 98, no. 9, March 1, 1930, 1.

19. Remarks by Grant Hudson. R - Mich., U. S. Congress, House, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., *Congressional Record 76*, February 27, 1931, 6355.

20. For the most in-depth study of the formation of the Production Code, see Stephen Vaughn, "Morality and Entertainment: The Origins of the Motion Picture Production Code," *The Journal of American History*, June 1990, 39-65. For other studies of the Production Code in relation to censorship, legal cases, and the involvement of the Legion of Decency, see Leonard J. Leff and Jerold L. Simmons, *The Dame in the Kimono: Hollywood, Censorship, and the Production Code from the 1920s to the 1960s* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990), Edward DeGrazia and Roger K. Newman, *Banned Films: Movies, Censors and the First Amendment (*New York: Bowker, 1982), and James M. Skinner, *The Cross and the Cinema: The Legion of Decency and the National Catholic Office for Motion Pictures, 1933-1970* (Westport, Connecticut:

Praeger, 1993), respectively.

21. The companies represented by the signatures to the code included: Fox Film Corporation; Bray Productions, Inc.; Radio Pictures; Loew's Theaters; Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and Hal Roach Studios, Inc; Christie Film Company; First National Pictures, Inc.; United Artists Corp.; Universal Pictures Corp.; Inspiration Pictures, Inc.; Columbia Pictures, Inc.; Radio Keith Orpheum Corp.; Paramount Publix Corp.; Pathe Exchange, Inc.; Sono-Art Productions; Electrical Research Products, Inc.; Warner Bros. Pictures, Inc.; Educational Film Exchanges, Inc. See Appendix I for particulars of the Advertising Code.

22. Hays, "Code of Standards For Motion Picture Advertising," *The Motion Picture* 6, no.7, July 14, 1930, 8; Howard T. Lewis, *The Motion Picture Industry* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1933), 261; name of producer withheld by *Variety* in "That Ad Code and Censors," June 11, 1930, 4.

23. Hays often printed collections of press releases gathered by his assistants in *The Motion Picture* and also sent copies of comments, both good and bad, to the advertising and publicity directors of the member companies; three quotes are taken from the Washington (D.C.) *Post*, the Worcester (Mass.) *Telegram*, and the Rochester (New York) *Chronicle* respectively, cited in "Advertising Code Hailed As Progressive step," *The Motion Picture Monthly*, 6, no.8, August 22, 1930, 11; opinion of unknown theater manager in "What They Say About Code for Advertising," *Exhibitors Herald-World*, 99, no. 5, June 28, 1930, 10.

24. Ads taken from article by Fred Eastman, "Are Movies Fit for Children," *Parents' Magazine, Oct/Nov 1932,* and entered into the record by Smith W. Brookhart, Iowa, U.S. Congress, Senate, 72nd Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 75, February 23, 1932, 4494.

25. Letter to Will Hays from James Couzens, R - Mich., Committee on Interstate Commerce, December 16, 1930 and Hays' reply on January 12, 1931, Box 98/4, O'Brien Files ; "Ad Copy Held 90 Per Cent Cleaner Than in 1930 by Enforcing Code," *Motion Picture Herald* 103, no.12, June 20, 1931, 12; "Code is Improving Advertising Throughout Trade, Says Hays," *Motion Picture Herald* 107, no.4, April 23, 1932, 28.

26. "We Need Bigger and Better Co-operation, " address by Will Hays before the New York Business Paper Editors, New York, February 17, 1933; WHH Papers, Part II, Movies Subject Index, note cards, 1930-1931. N-4, Pt. IV.

27. Further information on Congressional bills can be found in Clifford Howard, "Shadow Over Hollywood," *Close Up* 7, July 1930, 50, and in "New U.S. Censor Bill Would Bar 90 Per Cent of All Films Shown," *Exhibitors' Herald-World* 98, no. 8, February 22, 1930, 19. "Display of the Blue Eagle..." cited in 1933 "Activities of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Retention of Moral Standards in Production and Advertising," *Film Daily Yearbook 1934* (New York: Quigley), 667; see Garth Jowett, *Film: The Democratic Art* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976), 244-245, for the terms of Article VII General Trade Provisions of the NRA Code.

28. "The President and the Movie Code," *Christian Century*, October 25, 1933, 1328; for a similar account see Leff and Simmons, *The Dame in the Kimono*, 42.

29. Remarks by Wright Patman, D - Tex., in "Explanation of Bill H.R. 6097 For Supervision of Motion Pictures," U.S. Congress, House, 73rd Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 77, June 13, 1933, 5906.

30. *Film Daily Yearbook 1934*, 666-667. AAC headquarters in New York City were under the direction of Frank Wilstach, while the office in Hollywood was under the management of Simon Levy. All material was submitted in triplicate, one copy being returned to the studio, one set kept by the New York office, and the other sent to the Hollywood office.

31. A sample of the acceptance letter is included in Ruth A. Inglis, *Freedom of the Movies: A Report on Self-Regulation from the Commission on Freedom of the Press* (Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1947), 155-156. The agreement included four points: 1. that prints be released with the same title, nothing added or removed; 2. that all regulations of the MPPDA remain in force with issuance; 3. that any and all advertising and publicity matter, including material for press books, still photographs, poster and lobby card designs, and trailers, used in any matter in connection with the advertising and exploitation of this picture, shall be submitted for approval to the Advertising Council of the MPPDA, Inc., and that only such advertising or publicity material or trailers, approved by such Council shall be used in advertising and exploiting the picture hereby approved; and 4. that the PCA reserved the right to void the certificate of approval for violation of any of the above mentioned.

32. Will H. Hays Annual Report to the MPPDA on March 37, 1934, WHH Papers, Part II: March 27-31, 1934, Reel 11, frame 139-140; memo from Hays to McCarthy on May 22, 1934, WHH Papers, Part II: May 18-31, 1934, Reel 11, frame 764.

33. Remarks by Smith W. Brookhart, PR - Iowa, U.S. Congress, Senate, 72nd Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 75, February 23, 1932, 4494; testimony of Charles Pettijohn, U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Interstate Commerce, *Anti "Block-Booking" and "Blind Selling" in the Leasing of Motion-Picture Films: Hearing on S. 280,* 76th Cong., 1st sess., April 3, 1939 and May 22, 1940 (hereafter cited as the 1939 Hearing).

34. Testimony of David L. Boren, D - Okla, 1939 Hearing, 582.

35. "Motion Pictures and Total Defense," Hays' Annual Report to MPPDA on March 31, 1941, 18; "Enlarging Scope of The Screen," Hays' Annual Report to the MPPDA on March 27, 1939.

36. Quotation from William Weaver, "Mr. Hughes Unveils His Maverick--And How," *Motion Picture Herald* 150, no. 7, February 13, 1943, 23. For more information on the Hughes case see: *Hughes Tool Co. v. Motion Picture Association of America, Inc.* 66 F.S. 1006. N.Y. D.C. 1946; Leff and Simmons, *The Dame in the Kimono*, DeGrazia and Newman, *Banned Films*, and Walter Wanger Papers, General Correspondence, 1946-1947, Box 13/19, Wisconsin State Historical Society; and O'Brien File, Box 169/9.

37. "Hughes Fight Tightens Administration of Hollywood Code on Advertising," *Printers' Ink*, September 13, 1946, 122; "MPA Tightens Advertising Code and Extends Scope," *Motion Picture Herald* 168, no.5, August 2, 1947, 19; also see Samuel Rovner, "Movies' Face Washed in New P.R. Effort," *Editor & Publisher* 81, no.43, October 16, 1948, 28. Schlaifer was chairman of the newly formed public relations subcommittee of the industry's advertising and publicity director. The provisions of the Code would now apply to magazine and trade paper advertising, poster, lobby displays, and all publicity material. Article 1 of the Code included the statement "All Motion Picture advertising shall: (a) conform to fact, and (b) scrupulously avoid all misrepresentation": Article 11 included an addition: "and clothed figures shall not be represented in such manner as to be offensive or contrary to good taste or morals." Article 12 that forbade capitalizing on court actions in advertising, now encompassed "publicity" as well, see Appendix I ; statistics cited in Rovner, 28.

38. Remarks by Claude I. Bakewell, R - Missouri, in "Relationship of Motion Pictures, Radio Broadcasting, and Comic Strips to the Administration of Justice," by Arthur J. Freund, U.S. Congress, 80th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 94, January 13, 1948, A152.

39. "Movie Makers Bar Glorifying Crime," *New York Times*, December 4, 1947, 64:2; Will Hays also stated in his personal notes that a thirteenth rule had been added to the Advertising Code to harmonize the two codes, but gave no dates or specifics, WHH Papers, personal note cards, N-4, Pt. III, p.44.

40. Introduction of S. 3237, bill to license films and actors, and quotation by Edwin C. Johnson D- Col., U.S. Congress, Senate, 81st Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 96, March 29, 1950, A2963; remarks by Ed Lee Gossett, D - Tex., U.S. Congress, Senate, 81st Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record 96*, February 15, 1950, 1829.

41. Quotation from memorandum by Alexander Wiley, R - Wisc., in "Opposing Licensing Bill," U.S. Congress, Senate, 81st Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 96, April 25, 1950, A2834.

42. The Supreme Court decisions by Justices Stewart, Black, Frankfurter, Douglas, Clark, Harlan, and Whittaker, on obscenity and adultery as regard film licensing are cited in full in the debate on "Detention of Mail for Temporary Periods," U.S. Congress, House, 86th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 104, 17580-17584. Statement about movie censors and the number of states that still upheld censorship of movies (Kansas, Maryland, New York, and Virginia) cited by Justice Douglas, 17583.

43. John A.H. Rehm, "Sexy Movie Advertising Morally Wrong and Misleading," *Advertising Agency and Advertising & Selling* 43, no. 4, April, 1950, 70; Jay E. Gordon, "There's Really No Business Like Show Business," *Quarterly of Film, Radio and Television* 6, 1951, 181.

44. Statistics from report by Estes Kefauver, Tenn., "Strengthening of State Programs to Combat Juvenile Delinquency," U.S. Congress, Senate, 85th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 104, April 25, 1958, 7386. The Kefauver Subcommittees also studied youth employment, the matter of interstate, or black-market adoptions, juvenile courts, delinquency among Indian children, and the effects of education, religion, television, motion pictures, and advertising on young minds.

45. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Motion Pictures and Juvenile Delinquency: Report to Accompany S. Res. 173*, 84th Cong., 2nd sess., Rept. 2055, 1956 (hereafter cited as Kefauver Report 2055).

46. "Prurient Motion-Picture Advertising in Times of Increased Sex Crimes," *Journal of Social Therapy*, vol. I, no. 3, April 1955, 146-147, entered into the record by Dr. Ralph S. Banay, Kefauver Report 2055, 20; testimony also from Dr. Frederick J. Hacker, Medical Correctional Association, Kefauver Report 2055, 8; other information from Kefauver Report 2055, 21, 27; Kefauver Report 2055, 20; information on Gordon White, Kefauver Report 2055, 176.

47. Remarks by Kathryn Granahan, D- Penn., "Using the Mails for Obscene Matter," U.S. Congress, House, 86th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 105, June 8, 1959, 10189. Letter entered into the record by Granahan, U.S. Congress, House, Subcommittee on Postal Operations of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, *Self-Policing of the Movie and Publishing Industry: Hearing on H.R. 7379*, 86th Cong., 1st sess., February 9, 1960, 47. (Hereafter cited as the 1960 Hearing.)

48. Testimony of Eric Johnston, President of MPAA, 1960 Hearing, 4, 7. Johnston was also president of the Motion Picture Export Association of America and the Association of Motion Pictures Producers. The nine leading members of the MPAA at this time were Allied Artists Pictures Corp., Buena Vista (Walt Disney) Film Distribution Co., Columbia Pictures Corp., Loew's Inc., Paramount Pictures Corp., Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp., United Artists Corp., Universal Pictures Co., and Warner Bros. Pictures.

49. Remarks by Johnston and Granahan, 1960 Hearing, 8, 10.

50. Testimony of Gordon S. White, MPAA Director of Advertising, 1960 Hearing, 55.

51. Discussion on advertisements, 1960 Hearing, 62-64.

52. "Policing of Films Called Adequate," *New York Times*, February 3, 1960, 28:1.

53. Remarks by Joseph Addabbo, D - N.Y., in "Investigation of Objectionable Motion Pictures," U.S. Congress, House, 87th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 108, May 8, 1962, 7981; remarks by Eisenhower at the dedication of the Eisenhower Library at Abilene, Kans., May 1, 1962, cited by John Kyl, R- Iowa, in "The Time Has Come When the Theater and Motion-Picture Industries Must Establish and Enforce a Code of Taste and Decency or Government Agencies Will Do It For Them," U.S. Congress, House, 88th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 109, February 14, 1963, 2261.

54. *Ginzburg v. United States*, 383 U.S. 463.

55. "Talk About Movie Ads," *Film Bulletin*, March 28, 1966, 5.

56. Remarks by Margaret Chase Smith, D - Maine, in "Proposed Special Senate Committee on Film Classification," U.S. Congress, Senate, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 112, March 25, 1966, 6734; and "Voluntary Classification of Motion Pictures by Motion Picture Association of America," U.S. Congress, House, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 112, August 19, 1966, 20004.

57. Statement by Senator Margaret Chase Smith, Maine, U.S. Senate, Committee on Commerce, *The Committee on Film Classification: Hearing on S.Res. 9*, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., June 11, 1968, 4-5; statement by the Reverend Patrick J. Sullivan, S.J., Director of the National Catholic Office for Motion Pictures, ibid., 48; and statement by Jack J. Valenti, President, Motion Picture Association of America, ibid., 45.

58. Testimony of Dr. Frederick J. Hacker, Medical Correctional Association, Kefauver Report 2055, 8; testimony of Dr. Ralph S. Banay,, Kefauver Report 2055, 19.

59. Quotation from report by Samuel B. Pettengill, D - Ind., on block booking and blind selling, U.S. Congress, House, 74th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 80, June 20, 1936, 10759; James Gilbert, *Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Appendix I

MPPDA Advertising Code

1. We subscribe to the Code of Business Ethics of the International Advertising Association, based on "truth, honesty and integrity.*

2. Good taste shall be the guiding rule of motion picture advertising.

3. Illustrations and text in advertising shall faithfully represent the pictures themselves.

4. No false or misleading statements shall be used directly, or implied by type arrangements or by distorted quotations.

5. No text or illustration shall ridicule or tend to ridicule, any religion or religious faith; no illustration of a character in clerical garb shall be shown in any but a respectful manner.

6. The history, institutions, and nationals of all countries shall be represented with fairness.

7. Profanity and vulgarity shall be avoided.

8. Pictorial and copy treatment of officers of the law shall not be of such a nature as to undermine their authority.

9. Specific details of crime, inciting imitation, shall not be used.

10. Motion picture advertisers shall bear in mind the provision of the Production Code that the use of liquor in American life shall be restricted to the necessities of characterization and plot.

11. Nudity with meretricious purpose, and salacious postures, shall not be used.

12. Court actions relating to censoring of pictures, or other censorship disputes, are not to be capitalized on in advertising.

13. Titles of source materials or occupations or names of characters on which motion pictures may be based, should not be exploited in advertising or upon the screen is such titles or names are in conflict with the provisions of the production code affecting titles. (Added in 1947.)

14. No text or illustration shall be used which capitalizes, directly or by implication, upon misconduct of a person connected with a motion pictures thus advertised. (Added in 1950.)

* Established in 1906, the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World (AACW) changed its name to the International Advertising Association (IAA) in 1926. In 1913 the AACW code of ethics included "truth, not only in the printed word, but in every phase of business connected with the creation, publication, and dissemination of advertising...no double standards of morality...advertisers should not issue copy containing manifestly exaggerated statements, slurs or offensive matter of any kind...co-operation with other agencies...and continued and persistent education of the press and public regarding fraudulent advertising. In 1914, the AACW adopted a code of ethics for newspaper advertising. In 1927, the IAA created the Social Science Research Program, and in 1928, formed the Screen Advertisers Association. In 1930, the IAA became incorporated into the Continental Advertising Association.

Appendix II

List of Bills Pertaining to the Motion Picture Industry Introduced Into Congress Between 1909 and1971

03/03/09 - 60th Congress, 2nd Session. H.Res.608 - Resolution of inquiry in House in relation to moving-picture machines, requesting the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to investigate. Introduced by James T. McDermott, D - IL., Committee on the Judiciary.

01/14/10 - 61st Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 18157 - Bill to license operators of moving-picture machines. Introduced by Samuel W. Smith, R - Mich., Committee on the District of Columbia.

01/17/10 - 61st Congress, 2nd Session. S.5291 - Bill to license operators of moving-picture machines. Introduced by Thomas D. Gallagher, D - IL., Committee on the District of Columbia.

05/07/12 - 62nd Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 24224 - To amend act relative to copyrights on motion pictures. An act to protect copyrights on many other publications was approved in 1900. This bill would add motion pictures to the list. Introduced by Charles E. Townsend, R - Mich., Committee on Patents. Passed August 1912.

05/29/12 - 62nd Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 24962 - bill to prohibit exhibition of prize fight films. Introduced by Seaborn A. Roddenberry, D - Ga., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

07/01/12 - 62nd Congress, 2nd Session. S.7027 - bill to prohibit exhibition of prize fight films. Introduced by Simmons, Committee on the Judiciary. Passsed House and Senate. Enacted into law 08/01/12.

04/21/13 - 63rd Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 3321-Added clause to tariff bill: "Provided, however, that all photographic films imported under this section shall be subject to such censorship as may beimposed by the Secretary of the Treasury." Introduced by Oscar W. Underwood, D - Ala., Waysand Means Committee. Passed House and Senate. Enacted into law 10/13/13.

08/09/13 - 63rd Congress, 1st Session. S.2912 - Bill to prohibit importation and interstate transportation of certain films. Introduced by James W. Bryan, PR -Wash., Committee on Interstate Commerce.

03/18/14 - 63rd Congress, 2nd Session. S.4941 - To establish official national censorship of motion pictures in interstate and foreign commerce and in District of Columbia and the Territories and all other places under national jurisdiction. Introduced by Hoke Smith, D - Ga., Committee on Education and Labor.

03/18/14 - 63rd Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 14805, HR14895 (changed to HR 456) - to create new division of Bureau of Education to be known as Federal Motion Picture Commission. Introduced by Dudley Hughes, D - Ga., Committee on Education. Hearings held on H.R.14805. 3/20/14.

01/13/16 - 64th Congress, 1st Session. Hearings held on H.R. 456 - Smith-Hughes Bill. To create a new division of the Bureau of Education, to be known as the Federal Motion Picture Commission, and defining its powers and duties.

01/20/16 - 64th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 9521 - bill to prevent circulation of improper films. Introduced by Horace M.Towner, R - Iowa, Committee on the Judiciary.

04/15/16 - 64th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 14668 - bill to prohibit exhibition of films calculated to reflect on any race or nationality. Introduced by Leonidas Dyer, R -Mo., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

05/09/16 - 64th Congress, 1st Session. H.J. Res. 221 - to prohibit display of "The Birth of a Nation," in the District of Columbia. Introduced by Henry I. Emerson,R - Ohio, Committee on DC.

05/10/16 - 64th Congress, 1st Session. H.J. Res. 222 - same as above. Introduced by Benjamin K. Focht, R - Pa., Committee on the District of Columbia.

06/25/18 - 65th Congress, 2nd Session. H.Res. 402 - regarding moving pictures of America Expeditionary Forces, that Secretary of War furnish House certain information regarding taking of pictures of the Navy. Introduced by Allen T. Treadway, R - Mass., Comm. on Military Affairs.

01/10/19 - 65th Congress, 3rd Session. H.R. 14077 - create Federal Motion Picture Commission. Introduced by Charles H. Randall, Prohib/D/R/Prog - Calif., Committee on the Judiciary.

02/11/19 - 65th Congress, 3rd Session. H.R. 571 - resolution of inquiry relative to value in promoting expansion of interstate and foreign commerce (pertains to commercial motion pictures). Introduced by Charles B. Smith, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

08/15/19 - 66th Congress, 1st Session. S. 2777 - authorizing Secretary of War to produce for sale and sell duplicate negatives and prints of motion pictures and prints, lantern slides, and enlargements of stills in possession of War Dept. Introduced by James W. Wadsworth, Jr., N.Y., Committee on Military Affairs.

08/18/19 - 66th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 8499 - same as above. Introduced by Julius Kahn, R - Calif., Committee on Military Affairs.

01/07/20 - 66th Congress, 2nd Session. S.3674 - bill to prohibit bringing into the U.S. and transporting from one state, territory or District to another pictures, films, and/or motion picture films purporting to show or stimulate acts and conducts of ex-convicts, desperadoes, bandits, train robbers, bank robbers, or outlaws in commission or attempted commission of crimes or acts of violence and prohibit use of mails in carrying communications relating to same. Introduced by Thomas D. Gore, D - Okla., Committee on Interstate Commerce.

01/07/20 - 66th Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 11555 - same text as above. Introduced by William W. Hastings, D - Okla., Committee on the Judiciary.

01/07/20 - 66th Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 11557 - same as above. Introduced by John W. Harreld, R - Okla., Committee on the Judiciary.

01/22/20 - 66th Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 12009 - to punish transportation in interstate and foreign commerce of stolen films. Introduced by Henry T. Rainey, D - IL., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

01/28/20 - 66th Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 7629 - to amend penal laws of U.S. - involving the importation or transportation of indecent films, amend section 245 to include words "motion pictures." Introduced by Thomas J.Walsh, D - Mont., Committee on the Judiciary. Bill was passed 05/21/20 and vetoed by President Wilson because of improper phrasing of the English language. Passed June, 1920.

02/24/21 - 66th Congress, 3rd Session. S.J. Res. 262 - to preserve noteworthy films and graphophones, phonographs and talking-machine records. Introduced by James D. Phelan, D - Calif., Committee on Education and Labor.

08/24/21 - 67th Congress, 1st Session. S.Res. 142 - to investigate political activities of motion picture industry. Introduced by Henry L. Myers, D - Mont., Committee on the Judiciary. Hearing held January 25, 1922.

09/28/21 - 67th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 8454 - bill fixing taxes on motion pictures. Introduced by Manuel Herrick, R - Okla., Committee of Ways and Means.

10/11/21 - 67th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 8626 - bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce of immoral films. Introduced by Oscar E. Bland, R - Ind., Committee on the Judiciary.

02/06/22 - 67th Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 10291 - bill to amend act to prohibit importation and interstate transportation of films of prize fights. Introduced by Homer Hoch, R - Kan., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

02/22/22 - 67th Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 10577 - to create Motion Picture Commission. Introduced by Theodore F. Appleby, R - N.J., Committee on Education.

02/09/24 - 68th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 6821 - to create Federal motion picture commission, with power to regulate or censor motion pictures. Introduced by William D. Upshaw, D - Ga., Committee on Education.

12/19/25 - 69th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 4094 - to create Motion Picture Commission. Introduced by William I. Swoope, R - Pa., Committee on Education.

12/21/25 - 69th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 6233 -to create Motion Picture Commission. Introduced by William D.Upshaw, D - Ga, Committee on Education. Hearings on H.R. 4094 and H.R. 6233 - Swoope-Upshaw Bill - held April 14, 15, 16, 17, 27, and May 4, 1926.

12/23/27 - 70th Congress, 1st Session. S. 1667 - to regulate production, distribution, and exhibition of copyrighted films, to prevent obstruction and burdens on interstate trade and commerce of films and to prevent restraint on production, distribution, and exhbition of films, and prevent monopolization by prohibiting blind booking and block booking. Introduced by Smith W. Brookhart, PR - Iowa, Committee on Interstate Commerce.

12/07/27 - 70th Congress, 1st Session. S. 2160, to amend and repeal act to prohibit importation of fight films, to repeal prize fight act. Introduced by Jesse H. Metcalf, R - R.I., Committee on Interstate Commerce. Bills listed below are duplicates, same committee.

12/05/27 - H.R. 376 - introduced by William T. Cochran, R - Miss.
12/05/27 - H.R. 5637 - introduced by David J. O'Connell, D - N.Y.
12/07/27 - H.R. 6017 - introduced by Emanuel Celler, D - N.Y.
12/08/27 - H.R. 6489 - introduced by Harold Knutson, R - Minn.
12/08/27 - H.R. 6493 - introduced by James M. Mead, D - N.Y.
04/30/28 - H.R. 13417 - introduced by William C. Hammer, D - N.C.
01/04/28 - H.R. 10 -introduced by Richard P. Freeman, R - Conn.

01/26/28 - 70th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 9298 - to regulate sale of copyrighted films, to prevent block booking. Introduced by Clarence A. Cannon, D - Mo., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

01/26/28 - 70th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 10087 - to regulate sale of copyrighted films, to prevent blockbooking. Introduced by Emanuel Cellar, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

02/09/28 - 70th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 10761 - to regulate sale of copyrighted films, to prevent blockbooking. Introduced by Grant Hudson, R - Mich., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

05/11/28 - 70th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 13686 - to protect motion picture industry against unfair trade practices and monopoly, to provide just settlement of complaints of unfair dealing, to provide for manufacture of wholesome motion pictures at source of production, and to create Federal motion picture commission, to define its powers and for other purposes. Introduced by Grant Hudson, R - Mich., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

04/22/29 - 71st Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 1652 - to prevent blind booking and block booking of copyrighted films. Introduced by Emanuel Celler, D- N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

05/07/29 - 71st Congress, 1st Session. S. 1003 - to prevent blind booking and block booking of copyrighted films. Introduced by Smith W. Brookhart, PR - Iowa, Committee on Interstate Commerce.

10/10/29 - 71st Congress, 1st Session. S.Res. 87 - resolution of inquiry relative to Franco-American film controversy. Introduced by Samuel M. Shortridge, R - Calif., Committee on Interstate Commerce.

01/17/30 - 71st Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 8767 - to prohibit showing of films on Sunday and prohibit traveling theatrical troupes on Sunday. Introduced by William C. Lankford, D - Ga., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

02/07/30 - 71st Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 9986 - to create Federal motion picture commission. Introduced by Grant Hudson, R - Mich., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

12/08/31 -72nd Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 4530 - bill to prohibit importation and interstate transportation of films depicting crimes and for other purposes. Introduced by Raymond J. Cannon, D - Wis., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

12/08/31 - 72nd Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 251 - to regulate production, distribution and exhibition of copyrighted films; to prevent restraint on free competition, and prohibit block booking. Introduced by Emanuel Celler, D - N.Y., Committee on Interestate and Foreign Commerce.

02/23/32 - 72nd Congress, 1st Session. S.Res. 170 - to investigate financing and practices of motion picture industry. Introduced by Smith W. Brookhart, PR -Iowa, Committee on Interstate Commerce.

03/10/33 - 73rd Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 3650 - to repeal act to prohibit prize fights. Introduced by Emanuel Celler, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

03/16/33 - 73rd Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 3654 - to regulate production, distribution and exhibition of copyrighted films. Introduced by Emanuel Celler, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

03/29/33 and 04/03/33 - 73rd Congress, 1st Session. H.Res. 80, and H.Res. 95 - to investigate motion picture industry, to investigate all matters relating to production, licensing, sales, distribution, financing, incorporation, realty, sound production, theaters, bankruptcies, salaries, etc. Introduced by William I. Sirovich, D - N.Y., Committee on Rules.

05/15/33 - 73rd Congress, 1st Session. H.Res. 144 - to investigate the motion picture industry. Introduced by Wright Patman, D - Texas, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

06/12/33 - 73rd Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 6097 - bill for inspecting, classifying and cataloging films and to create a Federal motion picture commission. Introduced by Wright Patman, D - Texas, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Hearings held March 19, 1934.

03/16/34 - 73rd Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 8686 - to regulate production, distribution and exhibition of films. Introduced by Wright Patman, D - Texas, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

06/11/34 - 73rd Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 9901 - prohibit transportation of questionable films. Introduced by Raymond J. Cannon, D - Wis., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

06/12/34 - 73rd Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 9912 - protect against unfair trade practices, to provide settlement of complaints; provide for movies of wholesome films, create Federal motion picture commission. Introduced by Francis D.Culkin, R - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

06/18/34 - 73rd Congress, 2nd Session. S.3805 - to inspect, classify and catalog films. Introduced by Gerald P. Nye, R - N.D., Committee on Interstate Commerce.

06/18/34 - 73rd Congress, 2nd Session. S.3806 - Prevent restraint on free competition of motion picture industry. Introduced by Gerald P.Nye, R - N.D., Committee on Interstate Commerce.

01/03/35 - 74th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 142 - bill to regulate production, distribution, and exhibition of films. Introduced by Emanuel Celler, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

01/07/35 - 74th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 2999 - bill to protect against unfair trade practices and provide for production of wholesome films and create Federal motion picture commission. Introduced by Francis D.Culkin, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

01/25/35 - 74th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 4757 - bill to regulate production, distribution, and exhibition of films. Introduced by Francis D. Culkin, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

03/06/35 - 74th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 6472 - to prevent block booking. Introduced by Samuel B. Pettengill, D - Ind., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

06/06/35 - 74th Congress, 1st Session. S. 3012 - to prevent block booking. Introduced by M. M. Neely, D -W.Va., Committee on Interstate Commerce.

07/16/35 - 74th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 8877 - bill to regulate production, distribution, and exhibition of films. Introduced by Emanuel Celler, D - N.Y.

02/17/36 - 74th Congress, 2nd Session. S. 3012 - to prohibit and prevent block booking and blind selling. Introduced by M.M. Neely, D - W.Va., Committee on Interstate Commerce. Hearings on February 27, 1936.

01/05/37 - 75th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 22 - to protect industry and create Federal motion picture commission. Introduced by Francis D.Culkin, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

01/05/37 - 75th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 23 - to prevent block booking. Introduced by Francis D.Culkin, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

01/05/37 - 75th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 1669 - to prevent block booking. Introduced by Samuel B. Pettengill, D - Ind., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

01/06/37 - 75th Congress, 1st Session. S. 153 - to prevent block booking. Introduced by M.M. Neely, D - W.Va., Committee on Interstate Commerce. Passed Senate on 05/17/38, referred to House.

03/19/37 - 75th Congress, 1st Session. H.Res. 160 - to investigate motion picture industry. Introduced by Samuel F. Hobbs, D - Ala., Committee on Rules.

05/20/37 - 75th Congress, 1st Session. H.Res. 217 - to appoint committee to investigate industry. Introduced by Martin Dies, Jr., D - Texas, Committee on Rules.

03/20/38 - 75th Congress, 3rd Session. H.R. 10077 - to prevent block booking. Introduced by Andrew D. Edmiston, D - W.VA., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

01/03/39 - 76th Congress, 1st Session. S. 280 - to prohibit block booking and blind selling. Introduced by M.M. Neely, D - W. Va., Committee on Interstate Commerce. Hearing held on April 3,1939. Second part of hearing held May 22, 1940. Passed Senate 7/17/39 and referred to House.

01/03/39 - 76th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 145 - to prohibit block booking and blind selling. Introduced by Andrew D. Edmiston, D - W.Va., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

01/03/39 - 76th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 250 - to prevent unfair trade practices and monopoly and set up Federal motion picture commission. Introduced by Francis D. Culkin, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

01/03/39 - 76th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 244 - to prevent obstruction upon interstate commerce and prohibit block booking. Introduced by Francis D. Culkin, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

01/05/39 - 76th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 1810 - bill to promote free competition and prevent block booking and monopolies. Introduced by Emanuel Celler, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

04/09/40 - 76th Congress, 3rd Session. S. 3735 - to prohibit producers and distributors from owning, controlling, managing, operating or having interest in the theaters. Introduced by M.M. Neely, D- W.Va., Committee on the Judiciary.

01/03/41 - 77th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 135 - to prohibit block booking and blind selling. Introduced by Francis D. Culkin, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate Commerce.

01/06/41 - 77th Congress, 1st Session. S. 183 - to prohibit block booking and blind selling. Introduced by M.M.Neely, D - W.Va., Committee on Interstate Commerce.

01/06/41 - 77th Congress, 1st Session. S. 185 - to prevent monopoly of motion picture industry. Introduced by M.M.Neely, D - W.Va., Committee on Interstate Commerce.

01/06/41 - 77th Congress, 1st Session. S. Res. 152 - resolution authorizing investigation of war propaganda disseminated by the motion-picture industry and of any monopoly in the production, distribution or exhibition of motion pictures. Hearings held 09/09/41.

04/05/43 - 78th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 2392 - to prevent block booking. Introduced by Francis D. Culkin, D - N.Y., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

07/05/43 - 78th Congress, 1st Session. S. 1312 - to prevent block booking. Introduced by Harley M. Kilgore, D - W. Va., Committee on the Judiciary.

06/19/47 - 80th Congress, 1st Session. H. Res. 250 - resolution banning salacious films. Introduced by John E.Rankin, D - Miss., Committee on the District of Columbia.

09/19/49 - 81st Congress, 1st Session. S. Res. 169 - to investigate collusion between 20th Century Fox and Loews. Introduced by William Langer, R - N.Dak., Committee on the Judiciary.

03/29/50 - 81st Congress, 2nd Session. S. 3237 - to license films. Introduced by Edwin C. Johnson, D - Col., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

02/02/60 - Hearing in the House regarding Self-Policing of the Movie and Publishing Industry. H.R. 7379, from which this hearing derived, to strengthen law which declares obscene material to be nonmailable. Passed House on 09/01/59. Passed Senate July 1960. Signed into law 07/14/60.

1961 - 87th Congress, 1st Session. H.Res. 185 - moral quality of products: self-supervision to improve motion pictures. Introduced by Wilson, Ind., Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

04/16/62 - 87th Congress, 2nd Session. H.Res. 601, to study production and distribution of objectionable motion pictures and their advertising. Introduced by Kathryn Granahan, D - Pa., Committee on Rules.

04/16/62 - H.Res. 602 - same as above - introduced by George M. Wallhauser, R - N.J.
04/17/62 - H.Res. 604 - same as above - introduced by Joel T. Broyhill, R - Va.
04/18/62 - H.Res. 615 - same as above - introduced by Thaddeus J. Dulski, D - N.Y.
04/19/62 - H.Res. 617 - same as above - introduced by Robert T. Barry, R - N.Y.
04/19/62 - H.Res. 619 - same as above - introduced by Dominick V. Daniels, D - N.J.
05/07/62 - H.Res. 627 - same as above - introduced by Walter E. Rogers, D - Texas.
05/08/62 - H.Res. 629 - same as above - introduced by Joseph P. Addabbo, D - N.Y.
05/28/62 - H.Res. 670 - same as above - introduced by Walter E. Rogers, D - Texas.

08/13/62 - 87th Congress, 2nd Session. H.Res. 757 - committee to investigate production and distribution of objectionable pictures. Introduced by William J.Randall, D - Mo., Committee on Rules.

08/13/62 - 87th Congress, 2nd Session. H.C.Res. 511 - to eliminate distribution of objectionable pictures and advertising. Iintroduced by William J. Randall, D - Mo., Committee on the Judiciary.

01/09/63 - 88th Congress, 1st Session. H.Res. 72 - providing for an investigation and study of production, distribution, and exhibition of objectionable motion pictures and related advertising. Introduced by Walter E. Rogers, D - Texas, Committee on Rules.

02/14/63 - 88th Congress, 1st Session. H.Res. 255 - calling on theater and motion picture industries to establish and enforce code of taste, decency and morality similar to that established voluntarily by the motion picture industry in the motion picture code of 1930. Introduced by John H. Kyl, R - Iowa, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

03/25/66 - 89th Congress, 2nd Session. S.Res 242 - create Senate committee to investigate film classification. Introduced by Margaret Chase Smith, R - Maine.

08/07/67 - 90th Congress, 1st Session. H.R. 10347 - to create a Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. Introduced by Dominick V. Daniels, D - N.J.

03/04/68 - 90th Congress, 2nd Session. H.Res. 1081 - to create a select committee on film classification. Introduced by Thomas W. Ashley, D - Ohio.

06/11/68 - 90th Congress, 2nd Session. Hearing on S.Res. 9 - to create a special committee to be known as the Committee on film classification.

1968 - 90th Congress, 2nd Session. S.Res. 302 to eliminate violence. That it be the sense of theSenate that the public opinion makers undertake a self-examination to determine whether they contribute to an atmosphere of violence (opinion makers included the motion picture industry).Introduced by John J. Williams, R - Del.

1969 - 91st Congress, 1st Session. Thirty four different House Resolutions and one Senate Resolution submitted by more than 35 different Congressmen to restrict exhibition of harmful movies to youth. Also, ten more House Resolutions of the same nature were introduced in 1971. Eighteen House Resolutions were introduced to investigate movies which would tend to degrade any racial, religious, or ethnic groups.

04/21/70 - 91st Congress, 2nd Session. H.R. 17126 - to restrict films to youth and restrict any obscene material through the mails. Introduced by Ray Blanton, D - Tenn.

03/18/71 - 92nd Congress, 1st Session. H.Res. 332 - to protest showing of x-rated previews at G and GP films. Introduced by Speedy O.Long, D - La.

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Archives

The collections listed below from the Wisconsin State Historical Society Archives are useful for studying the motion picture industry and its advertising methods. The files of the Aitken Brothers, pioneers in production and distribution, are helpful for the study of the business aspects of filmmaking during the silent era. The Bruce Barton Collection furnishes a general study of advertising and his papers include correspondence with Will H. Hays, who was a close friend. The papers of Louis Pollock (1932 to 1965), who was a motion picture publicist for Universal Films, describe the structure and operations of a film promotion department. The files of Walter Wanger, motion picture producer, include correspondence with the MPPDA after 1940 and hold a copy of the results of the court case in which Howard Hughes sued the MPPDA.

The United Artists Collection contains the papers of Lynn Farnol (1940), Paul Lazarus (1943-1948), and Monroe Greenthal (1933-1941). As Advertising and Publicity Directors for UA, their files include letters to and from the media, trade papers, theaters, production companies, the MPPDA, and field agents regarding advertising methods, budgets and publicity ideas. The Dennis O'Brien files (legal counsel for UA from 1919 to 1951) are helpful for studying legal documents that pertain to the movie industry. Information on legal suits, including Hughes' "The Outlaw," and correspondence with the MPPDA are included. The files of William P. Phillips, UA treasurer from 1933 to 1935, contain contracts used in the motion picture industry and also included MPPDA correspondence. The Warner Pressbooks, both actual and on microfilm, are extremely useful for viewing the varied types of ads and miscellaneous materials that the film distributors made available to the exhibitors to promote the movies.

The Will H. Hays Papers at the Indiana State Library in Indianapolis, as they concern advertising, supplied an original copy of the Advertising Code, Daily Reports, MPPDA reports, and addresses given to member companies and advertising association. The most revealing information was found in Hays' personal notes on index cards complied during the formulation of his autobiography.

Aitken Brothers Files. Wisconsin State Historical Society Archives, Madison, WI. US Mss 9AF.

Bruce Barton Files, Wisconsin State Historical Society Archives, Madison, WI. US Mss 44AF. 1922-1954. Will H. Hays File.

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Mass Communications Ephemera Collection. Wisconsin State Historical Society Archives, Madison, WI.

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Series 2A. Record Group II O'Brien Legal Files, 1919-1951.
Series 5A. Record Group II Wright Legal Files 1919, 1931-1961.
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Series 11D. Research Data Volumes 1932-1939 General Announcements.
Series 2D. Record Group II Lynn Farnol Files, 1940.
Series 1H. Circular Letters 1936-1943, 1949-1950.
Series 4D. Record Group II Paul Lazarus, Jr. 1943-1949.
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For information about the film industry in general the *Motion Picture Herald* (formerly the *Exhibitors Herald-World*) contains editorials and news accounts of the Production and Advertising Codes and other information on their business practices. Published by Martin Quigley, co-creator of the Production Code, the *Herald* was a trade journal. Also very useful are the MPPDA Annual Reports, which contain a plethora of information on the accomplishments of the industry. Published once a year to be presented to the member companies they were clearly public relations vehicles designed to inform the public of their progress in all fields such as outstanding pictures, social significance of the screen, forthcoming pictures, self-discipline efforts, technical progress, distributor-exhibitor relations, foreign situations, economic trends, and public opinion.

The *Stanford Law Review, Yale Law Journal, Jouranl of Legal Studies, University of Florida Law Review, Columbia Law Review, Hastings Law Journal, George Washington Law Review* and the *Harvard Law Review* periodically offered analyses of the laws affecting motion pictures and commercial advertising, censorship, and information on self-regulation from 1930 to 1979, but motion picture advertising itself is not discussed. Many journals, such as the *Journal of Advertising, Journalism Monographs*, and the *Journal of Social Issues* are useful for articles on self-regulation and the varied aspects of commercial advertising, but they too rarely address motion picture advertising. Very negative views of the industry's advertising methods were often displayed in the *Christian Century* which generally published caustic articles on the failure of self-regulation. *Printers' Ink* magazine frequently discussed motion picture advertising, what was occurring in the industry, and criticisms and analyses of publicity methods, along with their general information on commercial advertising.

...The Snark-Infested Waters off Cape Canaveral:
An Oral History of the Early Media Coverage of Project Mercury

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ABSTRACT

Thirty years ago this Spring, Astronaut Alan B. Shepard, Jr. dressed in a protective bodysuit, rode to the top of a 66,000-pound Redstone rocket, and entered the ton-and-a-half Freedom Seven space capsule for the launch of the first U.S. manned sub-orbtial space flight. As millions watched around the world, Shepard lifted off for the heavens; fifteen minutes later, he splashed down 302 miles south of Cape Canaveral into the history books.

Some two and half miles from the launch pad, Howard S. Benedict, the Associated Press' 33-year-old lead aerospace writer, waited patiently on the wooden press site. For the past two years, Benedict had covered more than 200 unmanned missile and rocket launches at Cape Canaveral. After two years of waiting and hard work, it was a momentous time.

This research, constructed from a four-hour oral history interview and corresponding primary source documents, examines the early reporting career of former Associated Press reporter Howard S. Benedict, considered the dean of the aerospace reporters.[3] This research covers his involvement in the development of a press protocol with NASA, as well as the early difficulties reporters encountered with NASA and Air Force security.

The research shows that, on a larger scale, the efforts of Benedict, along with a handful of other trailblazing reporters, set the standard for media coverage of the American space program.

An Oral History of the Early News Coverage of Project Mercury

Introduction

Thirty years ago this Spring, Astronaut Alan B. Shepard, Jr. dressed in a protective bodysuit, rode to the top of a 66,000-pound Redstone rocket and entered the ton-and-a-half Freedom Seven space capsule for the launch of the first U.S. manned sub-orbital space flight. As millions watched around the world, Shepard lifted off for the heavens; fifteen minutes later, he splashed down 302 miles south of Cape Canaveral into the history books.1

Some two and half miles from the launch pad, Howard S. Benedict, the Associated Press' 33-year-old lead aerospace writer, waited patiently on the wooden press site. For the past two years, Benedict had covered more than 200 unmanned missile and rocket launches at Cape Canaveral. Benedict arrived only one week before the astronauts in May, 1959. After two years of waiting and hard work, it was a momentous time. Benedict said

> As May 2--the original launch date--approached, I was just as jittery as the NASA and industry people preparing the Redstone, the Mercury Capsule, and the astronaut for liftoff. Covering an unmanned launch as one thing. Yes, the thing could blow up, but it wouldn't kill someone in the process.
>
> So even though Shepard's Redstone was a proven rocket, I and others were somewhat nervous about putting a man on top of a tube of volatile fuel.2

In the next few minutes, Benedict would dictate 10 leads through the open line to New York, reporting on the historic first man in space. During the next 28 years, he would see a similar launch -- the Space Shuttle Challenger -- end in disaster. But the reporting that morning went, as the flight controller announced, "A-OK."

Research Question and Rationale

This research, constructed from a four-hour oral history interview and corresponding primary source documents, will examine the early reporting career of former Associated Press reporter Howard S. Benedict, considered the dean of the aerospace reporters.3 This research covers his involvement in the development of a press protocol with NASA, as well as the early difficulties reporters encountered with NASA and Air Force security. Finally, the research will look at Benedict's coverage of the four Mercury missions: Ham the Chimp, Alan B. Shepard, Jr., Virgil I. "Gus" Grissom, and John H. Glenn, Jr.

The research will show that, on a larger scale, the efforts of Benedict, along with a handful of other trailblazing reporters, set the standard for media coverage of the American space program. The research will also show that Benedict's stories, as well as those of the AP reporters he directed, may have reached more Americans than any other mediated source of information between 1959 and 1963. When Americans remember the early newspaper accounts of Project Mercury, they are frequently remembering the words of Howard Benedict.

Snarks and IRBM's from Bird Watch Hill

Howard Benedict's career as a space reporter begin the morning of Oct. 5, 1957. A six-year veteran Associated Press reporter, Benedict came from Salt Lake City to New York City to work for AP Newsfeatures in New York. That morning, Benedict was the first one in the office after the Russians launched Sputnik, the beeping, basketball-sized glowing satellite. Benedict said the assignment came to him to "tell people what this Sputnik thing is all about." He said

> I didn't know about it. Sputnik, what the hell was that? I called Wernher Von Braun, who'd been writing some columns on space for *Collier's*. So I got him on the phone, and a guy named John Hagan, and interviewed them. Von Braun was effusive, talking about space stations, going to the moon. It sounded like a fantasy. This tabbed me as an instant expert on space.4

For the next 18 months, Benedict was assigned to cover various missile launches in Cape Canaveral, Florida, as well as other space-related stories from New York. In October, 1958, NASA was founded; in April, 1959, it named the first astronauts, the Mercury Seven. Within one month, Cape Canaveral became a busy place. Benedict said, "When AP decided to open a bureau down here, I saw the potential." He stayed from 1959 until 1974.5

Those first months, by his own account, were grim. He wrote

> It was a year-round fireworks display, with seven, eight, sometimes a dozen launchings a week, mostly test flights of military ballistic missiles.
>
> The first five I covered exploded, and I wondered what I had gotten into.6

In a speech to accept the Lauren D. Lyman award, given by the Aviation/Space Writers Association in recognition of his lifetime achievement as an aerospace reporter, Benedict spoke of the early failures. He said

> So many Snarks (missiles) dumped into the Atlantic Ocean after blastoff that we often referred to the Snark-infested waters off Cape Canaveral.
>
> The Navajo had so many countdown holds and postponements, we dubbed it the "never-go Navajo." When the last Navajo was launched and fell explosively back on the Cape, one enterprising reporter wrote, "The last Navajo bit the dust today."
>
> The Polaris was called the IRBM, for intermediate range ballistic missile. Well, one day a Polaris shot out of control, skimmed over a trailer park and crashed into the nearby Banana River. We immediately dubbed it the IBRM -- for in the Banana River Missile.7

Code Word: Secrecy

The Cold War was raging in the early days of Project Mercury, and the Air Force was in charge of the missile ranges. Benedict said this combination caused great consternation on the part of the reporters trying to do their job. He said the Air Force was uncomfortable with the media coverage, and there had be little time to forge a trust between the two groups. The Air Force still considered all missile launches classified information. Benedict said "the shape of the missile was considered classified, and they (defense officials) objected to our taking pictures." Benedict said that a handful of reporters, which included UPI's Al Webb, Fairchild Publication's Mary Bubb and NBC's Jay Barbree, would gather "on a beach south of the Cape on high sandy knoll which we named 'Bird Watch Hill,' with cameras aimed at the launch site."8 But the Air Force would have no part of it. Benedict said

> When they (the Air Force) were launching a new missile, they didn't like us taking pictures; a lot of time they'd come in with a helicopter and swoop down on us and we'd scatter for the bushes. By the time we'd collected our senses, the missile was out of sight or had blown up.9

Benedict added that Mary Bubb from Fairchild -- a petite woman -- would wave her fist in the air and yell, "Damn you, Air Force!" at the departing helicopter.10

But permanent reporters like Benedict, Barbree, and Bubb began to develop sources on the Cape who provided the information necessary before a launch. Benedict said the traffic patterns in the local hotels would tell him when a missile would be launched.

> Back then they were launching eight to ten rockets a week. Bartenders and hotel clerks were the best sources They'd tell you when officials were in town. General Dynamics people would come in if it was an Atlas Launch. Chrysler if it was a Redstone. If they were Lockheed engineers, we expected a Polaris.11

Benedict added that if a large group went out to the Cape at night, "we figured there would be an Atlas launch at night."

> During that time, a lot of the missile launches occurred at night since the guidance system were suspect. They didn't have the elaborate computer systems available now, and the best way to track the missiles back then was to launch them on a clear night and track then against known stars."12

It was a tip from a source that ended the guessing-game concerning missile launches. Benedict said a source told him that Russian trawlers were anchored off the cape, scanning the short-wave bands to determine when a rocket would be launched. He said

> I got AP to invest in some real good short-wave radio equipment, and with Al Webb of UPI and Jay Barbree of NBC, we'd each take a frequency band, scan it, and when we had a countdown, we'd call the others and let them know what was happening.13

He added that when the Air Force caught onto their practice, they began scrambling the codes, to their own detriment. Benedict said

> They started scrambling the code so we couldn't scan it, until one time the Air Force had a new guy on Grand Bahama Island, and one time he couldn't unscramble the code. By the time he finished, the missile had gone by him and he hadn't gotten any data. 14

It was shortly after this event that two things happened: First, the missiles stopped exploding as often. Second, the military, joined by NASA, decided that cooperation with the press would benefit both. Benedict wrote, "When we realized we were also picking up missile test results, we worried that we might violate national security concerns, so we decided to ask the Air Force about it. The result was a weekly press briefing that previewed the launch schedule for the next week, and a press observation site for coverage of missile launches.15

'Fire in the Tail'

In late 1959, NASA managed to "get things loosened up" as far as media coverage was concerned. But, Benedict said, the rules remained simple: nothing could be written in advance of a launch. He added

> In 1959, NASA had started to launch satellites down here, but they had to do so under the Air Force rule. [Missile launches] were secret until they were launched. With all that was coming out anyway, with all our sources, they decided to go with a press site in 1959. And we would go out but the rules were that you could not release anything in advance about a

> missile launch. We had a news conference every Friday about the flight schedule for the following week, but we couldn't write anything until there was 'fire in the tail,' as they said -- a lift-off or shut-down on the pad--and then we could report it. They would not open the phones until one minute after the launch, so we wouldn't be leaking stuff out.16

This procedure worked well until the Washington bureau of UPI broke a story about one of the early unmanned moon flights. Benedict said NASA Major General Donald Yates

> closed off everything. He said, 'Just because the UPI guy down here didn't do, it doesn't mean he might not have been involved in it. All coverage is off on everything.' That lasted about two days. We protested to the Pentagon. Eventually, NASA started announcing launches so we could report them two days in advance.17

NASA's policy of a two-day advance also applied to the first manned Mercury missions. The fear of the Russian was simply too great.

Developing Sources

Throughout the next two years, Benedict said he worked to develop his beat and sources to cover it. He remained one of a handful of reporters permanently assigned to Cape Canaveral. At times --such as the flight of John Glenn -- more than 600 reporters would swarm over the Cape. Benedict said finding and keeping good sources "got easier as time went on." NASA and the officials "started to trust me -- I wasn't some newsman out there trying to get some sort of sensational story."18

One thing working against Benedict from the start was a contract between *Life* magazine and the astronauts. Through their attorney, Leo DeOrsey, the astronauts -- with NASA's permission and supervision -- signed an exclusive contract in August, 1959. This contract allowed *Life* to cover the "personal" stories of the astronauts while restricting the conventional media from such coverage. The result was more than 17 *Life* magazine cover stories on Project Mercury, and more than 50 stories inside the magazine. Benedict wrote that AP protested the contract "to no avail." He added

> The deal with *Life* magazine really nettled us. It gave them [the astronauts] an excuse to stay away from us. They had regular news conferences like that, but this gave them an excuse to avoid us, and it kept us away from their families. During a launch Life magazine had a reporter and a photographer in the living room with the wives, reporting everything, and in those days that was a big story. 19

But Benedict had a unique access to the astronauts after the AP established a bureau at Cape Canaveral. His apartment and office were housed on the top floor of the Cape Colony Inn, of which the astronauts had part ownership. He said

> My office overlooked their rooms and I could see their comings and goings. They were a major story back then, and they'd come up to the AP office and read the wires to see what was on it about them. I had this unique relationship with them that nobody else had. I had almost daily contact with them. I'd run into them in the parking lot, I'd see them in the hotel almost every day, I'd ask "how's the training program, what's new," and I'd get a few quotes that way.20

The arrangement ended, however, after *Chicago Sun-Times* reporter William Hines questioned the ethics of the astronauts owning part of a hotel. Benedict said, "a couple of the *New York Times* guys wrote about it, and then I got a call from my New York editor." He said they asked

> "Why aren't we writing about this?" I said, "Let me tell you the facts of life about this. This is the hotel where I live -- this is how I have my access to them." There was a little pressure, but I didn't think there was a real conflict. They eventually sold their interest in the hotel. Then they had to stop staying there too.21

The Space Age Enters a New Decade

The first five months of 1961 proved to be some of the busiest in the early Space Program. In their book *Moon Shot,* astronauts Alan Shepard and Deke Slayton wrote of the months following the inauguration of President John F. Kennedy as some of the most surprising. The first surprise came Jan. 18, 1961, when NASA administrator Robert Gilruth announced to the astronauts that Shepard would be the first man in space; Virgil I. Grissom and John H. Glenn, Jr., were selected as second and third. The decision followed a peer vote among the seven.22 The media learned in February that one of the three would be the first man in space. NASA gave each of the three equal time in the flight simulators, but did not divulge to anyone who would "get the first ride." Events of the following weeks convinced Benedict that Glenn would be the first man in space. He wrote

> Most of the press, including myself, were betting on John Glenn, as the best known and most charismatic of the trio. There was only a small handful of people who knew who was going to be the first, and you couldn't get that information out of them. The space agency was able to keep a lock on this secret for a long time.23

The second event of 1961 was the launch of Ham the Chimpanzee atop the Redstone January 31, 1961. Benedict said the attention reached a "fever pitch" before the launch. NASA announced the probability of the flight in a news release Saturday, January 28, noting, "In a week or so -- barring unforeseen circumstances but not completely unexpected trouble -- a Mercury spacecraft carrying a chimpanzee will be launched from Cape Canaveral, Fla. Why?"24

Three days later, Ham the Chimpanzee, a 3-year-old, 37-pound male chimpanzee born in the Camaroons, Africa, climbed into the Mercury Redstone-2 and lifted off into space. NASA said Ham was selected because "he should prove more reliable and less affected by distractions than his five classmates."25 The sub-orbital flight bearing Ham blasted off at 11:55 a.m. EST; an electrical relay problem caused the capsule to land 420 miles downrange, 150 miles beyond the target landing site. The monkey had received an electrical shock in the flight.26 The newspaper headlines screamed. "Chimp Astronaut Fired into Orbit; Survival Uncertain."27

Benedict wrote that this caused a string of events that cost Alan Shepard the designation and honor as first man in space. He wrote

> An astronaut was to have ridden the next Redstone, in March, but because of the Ham problem, Wernher von Braun and other uneasy officials decided it would be prudent to launch another unmanned Mercury Redstone first.
>
> The frustrating thing about that was Shepard would have been the first man in space if Von Braun hadn't gotten cold feet. He said, "We have to have another unmanned flight after this, just to test the system." That one went up in early March, and Shepard would have been on that one if Ham had been all right. Most of the engineer said, "We understand this problem." Shepard was fighting to get up, he was fighting Von Braun. It was so frustrating.
>
> The Redstone went perfectly in March and had an astronaut been aboard he would have been the world's first spaceman. 28

History reports, of course, that Yuri Gagarin, the Russian cosmonaut, would blast off April 12 and become the first man in space.

Benedict said this changed things in the press and public's eyes. He wrote

> This put extreme pressure on NASA, and we in the news media who were reporting the story, as the first American flight approached. Almost from the beginning of the year, I had devoted most of my time to covering, the story, writing it from every angle, and keeping in focus the rivalry with the Russians. I wrote of the disappointments when Gagarin was first, the renewed determination in the aftermath, the political aspects. There were few days off during those long weeks.29

'Everything is A-OK!'

Benedict said NASA announced the third Mercury launch in advance in an April 26, 1961 press packet that contained 11 news releases. Among the packet's materials: A description of the rocket, the Mercury Redstone 3; information on astronauts observation and control tasks and pilot preparation; a view inside the pilots cabin and launch vehicle; a six-page contingency plan called "If"; abort and recovery operation designations; and a biography and training program summary for Shepard, Glenn, and Grissom.30

But Benedict said NASA would not release the name of the astronaut, let alone the flight plan for Mercury. He said a source here gave him the information before NASA's officials release.

> I had a friend in NASA who would slip me a bootleg version of the flight plan. I made friends with a man named John Yardley at McDonnell in St. Louis -- he was a capsule designer. I'd go to his office and he'd go over the flight plan and explain every bit of it to me. 31

Benedict said that the flight first was scheduled May 2, but until three hours before the launch, no one knew who the astronaut on board would be. A source, however, changed that. Benedict said

> NASA wasn't going to announce his name until his rocket was airborne. That was to remain a secret. I found out three hours before on May 2. A source called me from out at the Cape and said, "it's Shepard that's suited up and going to the pad." But he never got to the pad because they scrubbed it that day for weather conditions. When they scrubbed it, NASA did announce that it was Shepard because the story was out already. 32

A source at General Dynamics told him the launch was off for three days, and Benedict said NASA was slow about announcing postponements, a fact that infuriated the reporters without sources at the Cape. He said

> There were 600 newsmen down here who didn't have any sources. They'd drive all the other people crazy. They'd say, "How'd you know that! NASA didn't announce it." We'd say, "Well, you wait about an hour and NASA will announce it." NASA would get its act together, clean up a statement, then announce they'd try again. 33

Benedict wrote that the next three days saw a flurry of press activity. During that time, " AP brought about 20 people down here." He wrote

> The staff wrote dozens of pre-launch stories. Besides the daily (AMs and PMs) reports on launch preparations, we wrote about every conceivable thing. We described the rocket and capsule in detail, wrote biographies on the three astronaut candidates, answered questions such as: How does a man survive in space, what about the future, will the U.S. ever catch the Russians. As we interviewed scores of NASA and industry people working to make the launch a success -- the engineers, the technicians, the astronauts, even their food preparers. AP members around the world peppered us with questions that needed answers. The world was thirsting for this story.34

At 9:34 a.m. on May 5, Shepard's rocket took off after a four-hour delay.35 During the time, Shepard had been squeezed into a area the size of a telephone booth. Deke Slayton was at the command center in Mission Control; John Glenn, Gus Grissom, and Gordon Cooper were assigned nearby.36 At the press site, Benedict stood ready with an open phone line to the AP in New York. He dictated 10 story leads for the evening paper cycles (PMs) that day, "topping an early background story I had laid down shortly after midnight." He wrote

> There were leads as events happened, with the astronauts going to the pad, the launch being delayed by technical problems and weather, the liftoff, an in-flight lead with quotes, the splashdown, the post-flight debriefing on Grand Bahama.37

"An American Conquers Space" shouted the headline in Benedict's hometown paper, *The Sioux City Journal*. "Alan Shepard Safe After 15-Minute 5,000 MPH Flight" was the deck of Benedict's story, which led, "The United State's first space man, Alan B. Shepard, Jr., rocketed briefly across the threshold of space today and landed safely after a pulsating 5,000 miles-per-hour journey that carried him 290 miles down range."38 Other paper such as the *New York Times* carried the background stories he'd prepared before the flight, including a biography of Shepard that ran on page 1. 39

Benedict wrote that he had control of the number of stories written about each launch. During the first two years, he wrote when there was a story; by the time of the MR-3 Freedom Seven Flight, things had changed considerably. He added

> The major rockets -- like the intercontinental range Atlas and Titan -- received the most attention, and usually commanded 600 to 700 words a cycle. When a new rocket was declared operational after years of testing, that was a major story. If there was a huge explosion, as often happened with the Atlas, the wordage could exceed 1,100 to 1,200 words a cycle, with leads. A lesser missile like a Snark could be kissed off in 300 words a cycle.
>
> Any unmanned precursor of a manned mission, such as the launch of the Mercury capsule atop a Redstone or an Atlas, was a major story. There were three Mercury-Atlas explosions and these stories raised considerable doubt about whether an American would ever make in into orbit. 40

In spite of the improvements in coverage conditions, there were still glitches the press had to contend with. One was the voice of mission control, Lt. Col. John "Shorty" Powers. Because of the lack of air-to-ground radio, the press was required to take Powers' interpretation of the flight as truth. Benedict said

> He was an egotistical Air Force colonel who was put in charge of the astronaut's public relations. He favored the television people and would always schedule major announcements for the six o'clock news. He knew they would always go live. He wouldn't consider our other deadlines. He was feathering his own nest by getting himself on television as much as possible. That was frustrating for us.
>
> You had to take as gospel what Shorty Powers said. He gave the commentary of the flight. We did not get air to ground like we did in the later flights. But he interpreted the flights like he wanted to. Like when Shepard was reported to have said, "everything is 'A-OK'"; **he** said 'A-OK'--Shepard says he never said 'A-OK.'41

Yet newspapers across the country and *Life* magazine reported the words, "Everything A-OK, dye marker out." Life even used it in the headline for its main story and on the cover.42

Next up: Gus Grissom

Over the months between the flights of Shepard and Virgil I "Gus" Grissom, NASA still kept a tight grip on the media coverage. First, NASA refused to release the name of the second astronaut. Benedict said "NASA announced Virgil Grissom's name one day before the launch, although we, again through sources, had it two weeks before."43 Benedict said the element of inaccessibility continued through the July 21, 1959, flight as reporters in Cape Canaveral and in Grand Bahamas Island were unaware of the drama taking place in the Atlantic Ocean. Benedict said

> We didn't know Grissom was swimming for his life out there. He goes up and lands and all this drama's going on out there. Gus is swimming for his life, and the helicopter thinks he's all right. Its down draft is pushing poor old Grissom under the water, and he's almost drowning out there. We had no idea this was going on.
>
> All we had from Shorty Powers was that he'd landed safely, the helicopter was overhead, and they picked him up. Then Shorty said, "Yes, he's safely on board. By the way, the capsule sank." There was no explanation. He just said "the capsule sank." Of course, a couple of hours later, there was a news conference and they announced the hatch had come open. Even then we didn't know Gus was swimming for his life.44

Benedict's coverage of this flight said, "Astronaut Virgil I. Grissom survived a 5,280 mile-per-hour journey in space Friday, then made a dramatic swim for his life as his capsule plummeted to the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean." 45

The First Orbital Flight

The year 1962 began with the anticipation of the first orbital Mercury Flight. There was no secret as to who the astronaut would be -- John Glenn was the only one remaining of "the first three," and attention was focused on Glenn and the flight of Friendship Seven. His flight was first scheduled for December 20, 1961, but a series of problems delayed the flight two months. Glenn was forced to wait out another chimpanzee flight for safety.46 Benedict recalled this time as a time of playing "hurry up and wait"; for some the Cape Canaveral press corps, the time provided an interesting challenge.

> During all the postponements during the Glenn flight, we had these newsmen running around here with nothing to do. NASA in those days didn't have a big news center. They had a contract with one of the hotels to have a center in one of their ballrooms

> of the old Starlight Hotel. The press center was right across from the bar.
>
> There was a barmaid who'd become pretty good friends with some of the newsmen. One night, her husband came in about midnight and shot her to death right there in the bar. With no space flight to cover, the foreign media went crazy. There were big headlines, 'Murder in Missiletown.'
>
> This guy had parked his car in front of the hotel. The next morning the police got into the car with the dog, and they started following the scent up the beach. It turned out, here was this whole hoard of newsmen following the dog, who was following the scent of the deputy who had gone in the car to get some fingerprints the night before.
>
> Meanwhile, about an hour after the shooting, this lady who lived next door to the hotel called the police and said, 'Somebody stole my car"; the police said, 'You have to wait, we've got a murder on our hands.' Turned out the car they found the next day in Melbourne was hers, and they finally arrested the guy a few days later. But they went absolutely crazy over that story.[47]

A month before the launch, on Jan. 22, 1962, Benedict "scooped" *Life* magazine with a personal story on John Glenn. Benedict said he'd gotten a tip from a source who was a layman in the Presbyterian Church in Cocoa Beach; Glenn had called him to say he'd be attending service. Benedict followed Glenn to church that morning, writing "Astronaut John H. Glenn Jr. left the seclusion of his flight 'ready room' Sunday to attend church, and then -- as if he didn't have another thing to do in the world -- signed autographs for more than 50 wide-eyed Sunday School children." [48]

Of the story, Benedict said

> I stood there taking all this in, thinking, "Boy, I've got a helluva story." Then I started thinking, "We're right on the main Highway, and some of these newsmen around here are wandering around, and they're going to see this." I started to urge John on, and he looked at me and said, "You're getting a great story.' Fortunately, the only other reporter who wandered by was a reporter from National Geographic, and he didn't have a deadline for months.[49]

The February 20, 1962 flight made the biggest headlines to date in Project Mercury. Benedict wrote of Glenn's flight, "Skillfully demonstrating man's ability to perform in space, steel-nerved astronaut John H. Glenn Jr., flew three times around the earth today in four hours, 58 minutes, then landed safely in the Atlantic Ocean." The article detailed Glenn's passage over Perth, Australian, where citizens had turned on every light in the city. There was only brief mention of "trouble" that developed in the automatic system. 50 Glenn's heat shield, in fact, was in danger of dislodging. Benedict said there was no clue of this problem. He added

> We didn't know at that time there was a problem with the heat shield. We didn't know what was going on. It was days later. NASA was saying, "He's floating through the third orbit," and Shorty was telling us he was fine; he gave us these quotes.
>
> Glenn was in the dark, too. They kept telling him to leave the straps on, but they didn't tell him why. He was guessing, but they didn't tell him until he'd come through re-entry.51

Benedict said he thought Glenn's flight got such attention because Glenn "did something the Russians had done." But he added that, thought the duration of Project Mercury, "the Russians were going so much father and higher than we had."

> With Carpenter's another ho-hum orbital flight, Schirra's was another three hours of 'driftin' and dreamin',' as they called it. Cooper stayed up 34 hours, but that was far short of what the Russians could do.
>
> It wasn't until the Gemini program that the interest picked up and we started taking the lead away from the Russians. By the time the end of the Gemini program, we in the news media figured that the Russians weren't going to do much more than orbit people for a very long time. They had a long way to go to catch up. By

> the end of Gemini, we had an insurmountable lead on them. You still didn't know what surprises they had in store in the lunar program. This whole myth of the moon race had to keep going. And we didn't know it was a myth, but it was.52

Conclusion

This paper examined Howard Benedict's coverage of the first four flights of Project Mercury, but his career didn't end after Glenn. Benedict continued to cover the space program from the Cape until 1974. He left the Cape Canaveral Bureau after the Skylab space stations flights. For almost ten years, he covered the politics of space from Washington D.C. He took leave from the beat in 1974-74 to cover the presidential campaign of Gerald R. Ford, then again to cover the Soyez Space Mission. In 1984, he returned to the Cape Canaveral Bureau to cover the Space Shuttle where he was dictating on an open phone line the morning in January, 1986, when Challenger exploded. His work that day earned him the AP's highest writing award.53

On February 28, 1990, Howard Benedict retired as the AP's Aerospace Writer. After listing the missions he covered in the past 31 years, he wrote

> There's a lot of history in that list. There's more ahead, as humans press deeper into space. There will be Space Station Freedom in the middle of this decade, and early in the next century astronauts could be back on the moon and embarking for Mars.
>
> I'll miss being a part of it. I envy those who will.54

The next day, the six living Mercury Astronauts -- Alan B. Shepard, John Glenn, Scott Carpenter, Gordon Cooper, Wally Schirra, and Deke Slayton -- along with Gus Grissom's widow Betty, named Benedict executive director of the Mercury Seven Foundation, and he holds this position at this writing. As the foundation's only paid employee, Benedict works with the men he covered in the 1960s, directing activities and fund-raising for scholarships for engineering students across the country.

Benedict's stories about the astronauts from Mercury to the Space Shuttle helped establish a modus operandi for media covering outer space. His work helped establish a press protocol at Cape Canaveral that is still in place today. Public Information officials at NASA still refer reporters (and students) to Benedict because of his wealth of information and experience.55

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WOMAN AS CITIZEN:
AN IDEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THREE WOMEN'S PUBLICATIONS, 1900-1910

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INTRODUCTION

The turn of the 20th century, called the Progressive Era in American history, was a time of great change for the United States and for American women. A pervasive national ferment characterized by industrialization, urbanization and increased immigration was the backdrop for women's ongoing political fight for suffrage, for increased involvement in the workplace and in the professions, and for transformations within the home. Women were redefining their place in society and creating new identities—specifically, a notion of their citizenship and a reconceptualization of their social role and contributions.

This reconceptualization of citizenship and social involvement interfaced with the prevailing notions of what it meant to be 'woman' in early 20th-century society. Gender is a social construction, dependent on societal norms and values of a given time. The term "gender construction" is used throughout this paper to identify states, ideas, or assumptions regarding gender—ideas that are constructed from conditions and (pre)dispositions. The notion of 'citizenship' is also a social construction; women, as well as men, have refined and redefined the basis for citizenship depending on sociopolitical conditions and the norms and expectations of a given period of history.

This is a case study of how three women's publications, published at the turn of the 20th century, constructed and/or propagated an ideology of "woman as citizen." Ideology, as used here, is what Rosemary Hennessey refers to as "the array of sense-making practices which constitute what counts as 'the way things are' in any historical moment."[1] How gender constructions intersected with issues of class, which is used here to refer to the states created by an unequal distribution of resources and wealth, is also explored.

Woman's suffrage is here considered the arena in which the notion of women's citizenship and social identity was defined. The rhetoric of suffrage is naturally infused with the articulations of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and a pronounced faith in the political process. From the mid-19th century to the early 20th century, discussions and attitudes concerning women and the extent of their public and political participation ultimately interfaced with the positions and perspectives related to woman's suffrage. In addition, the suffrage movement contained the conflicts, personalities and strategies that illuminated not only ideas about women, but also ideas about class.

CULTURE, IDEOLOGY AND THE MEDIA

The arguments for and against suffrage necessarily contained the *discourse* related to citizenship. Using John Pauly's definition of a text as "any transcription that fixes human action for contemplation and interpretation," the term "discourse," in this study, refers to both the constellation of various texts and the notions contained within those texts.[2] Texts (in this study the contents of the three women's publications) comprise the discursive terrain of words and images that presuppose a set of shared assumptions between the reader and the producer. Critical linguist Gunther Kress defines discourse as the set of possible statements about a given area, saying that discourses "define, describe and delimit what it is possible to say and not possible to say . . . with respect to the area of concern."[3]

The three publications were examined within the cultural fabric of the early 20th century, in an attempt to accomplish what journalism historian David Paul Nord calls "cultural history"—the intersection of the history of human thought and the history of human action. Cultural historians ask, "What if reality itself is constructed in human consciousness and human discourse?" The cultural historian seeks to understand the "collective consciousness" of a given group of people and reads meanings from texts within the framework of the social and economic contexts in which texts were created.[4]

Stuart Hall has written that "the mass media are more and more responsible for providing the basis on which groups and classes construct an 'image' of the lives, meanings, practices and values [that] can be coherently grasped as a 'whole'."[5] This construction of what Hall refers to as "social knowledge" or "social imagery" occurs within a mass-mediated cultural sphere. The women's publications studied here sought to convey to women this social knowledge in a way the mainstream media of their day did not. Although these publications could not be considered *mass* media—their circulation was too small and specialized—they do provide a unique opportunity to analyze the ideology of the movements they represented and hence the notions of "woman" and "citizenship" they propagated or promoted.

Although this study derives from the work of cultural studies, specifically critical cultural studies, the conceptual framework is what Hennessey refers to as "materialist feminism."[6] Materialist feminism has evolved from critical Marxist theory, retaining the basic tenets of economic determinism and class conflict, while adding the consideration of patriarchal oppression and the devaluation of women, thereby making it more appropriate for feminist studies. Within materialist feminism, gender becomes a category of analysis, with special attention to the intersection of gender with class, race, and other economic and social realities.

The materialist framework of this study seeks to explicate the reflections of ideological values, class relations and social power in a facet of culture—the media. Marxists contend that media are not merely carriers of ideology that manipulate and indoctrinate; they shape people's very idea of themselves and the world.[7] A key concept to this exploration is Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony—the process whereby a cultural 'common sense' is produced. Hegemony is manifest in the general notions people of any culture have about the way things should be; it is a dominant world-view, often culturally expressed and discursively articulated. Gramsci wrote about "how the ideological structure of a dominant class is actually organized," concentrating on the press as its "most prominent and dynamic part."[8] Performing a materialist feminist ideological critique of media, therefore, requires a "mode of reading that recognizes the various interests and discursive constructions of the social,"[9] with special emphasis on gender and class distinctions as portrayed and propagated through the media.

As of this writing, there has been no critical cultural analysis of women's publications produced around the turn of the 20th century. Studies of the suffrage press have been descriptive treatments within a functional and/or social movement theoretical framework, leaving important questions about ideology and discourse unexplored.[10] *The Courant*, one of the publications chosen for this study, has been read for its constructions of the notion of woman; however, in her study, Georgia NeSmith does not explore how class realities may have contributed to or intersected with club women's notions of themselves.[11] Ann Schofield has studied union journals and how they framed the "woman question,"[12] but it is not a study of women's publications—of the way women themselves formed and framed their role and communicated this identity to each other. It is a study of how 'others' have constructed women's image in the media, as is Angela McRobbie's critical cultural analysis of the constructions of femininity in a contemporary British publication.[13] By and large, limited attention has been given women's publications in history, especially the ideological dimension of such publications, and the implications of the intersections of class and gender identity.

LOCATING SITES OF WOMEN'S DISCOURSE

The *Woman's Tribune* (1900-1909), *The Courant* (1900-1911), and *The Socialist Woman* (1907-1908; renamed *The Progressive Woman* in 1909) were chosen for study because they uniquely and particularly provide the opportunity for studying the discourse related to women's citizenship and class identity.

The *Woman's Tribune*, published during this period in Washington, D.C., then Portland, Oregon, targeted suffragists and sought to be the unofficial voice and connection to the suffrage movement. Editor and publisher Clara Bewick Colby wrote that she wanted her publication to be the most valuable and important suffrage publication, yet she had no official ties to the national suffrage organizations. Though popular, with the highest circulation of any other suffrage paper, it was still considered the "number two" publication to the National American Woman Suffrage Association's official organ, the *Woman's Journal*.[14] For this reason, perhaps, Colby strived to make the paper acceptable for general circulation. She included non-suffrage news and considered men, as well as women, part of her audience.[15] Colby's freelance status, her efforts toward wider circulation with a more varied content than her suffrage press competitors, and her consciousness regarding the importance of the press in women's lives all point to the Tribune's importance for this study.

The second publication, *The Courant*, was published in St. Paul, Minnesota, by and for the Midwest chapter of the General Federation of Women's clubs. Most of its content was devoted to descriptions of women's club work, other business and educational pursuits. The Federation of Women's Clubs was established in 1890, bringing together 200 clubs representing 20,000 women with various reform agendae including labor laws, education, sanitation, and other social and political issues. By 1904, there were 45 state federations with a combined membership of 300,000, and 971 individual clubs.[16] Women's clubs provided many women with their first foray into public life; therefore, the question of suffrage for the audiences of their publications seems particularly germane. Furthermore, women who belonged to these clubs were wealthy and considered "respectable." The Federation had evolved from the study-club movement, and those educational, cultural roots continued to flavor the methods and priorities of the club movement. Supported by advertisers and subscribers, *The Courant* was financially stable by 1904.[17] Club women were shareholders in *The Courant* Company, sat on its board of directors, and were frequent contributors as well as readers. It is, therefore, an appropriate publication for studying the constructions of woman's citizen identity, particularly among middle to upper class women in the Midwest.

The third publication, *The Socialist Woman*, presented the ideals and goals of the National Socialist Party by and for women of the party. Its political content, albeit controversial, nevertheless intersected with the crucial question of its time concerning politics and women: suffrage. *The Socialist Woman* was published as a monthly magazine beginning in June, 1907, in Chicago, Illinois. The editor was Josephine Conger-Kaneko, a graduate of Missouri's socialist Ruskin College, and a former columnist for the *Appeal to Reason*, a socialist paper published by J.A. Wayland in Kansas City, Missouri.[18] *The Socialist Woman* was intended to educate women about socialism, leading them "to accept socialism as the one and only solution to the problems that crowd . . . upon their homes and their families. . . ."[19] Socialist women frequently allied themselves with the causes and concerns of working women. Revolt against their deplorable working conditions spawned women's union organization and involvement. This union activity and a working woman's experience of societal disapproval raised her consciousness to a level of discerning sophistication that her upper and middle class sisters might never have realized. Women in the labor movement began to understand the roots of oppression, specifically economic subjugation and the gendered aspect of that reality. Labor unions offered hope to the oppressed working woman, as did the socialist and suffrage movements; however, the socialist platform presented political and ideological alternatives to the woman's suffrage movement. Socialists were especially able to articulate the finer points of class distinction in explaining women's struggles in society, adding notions of capitalism and bourgeois oppression to the yet-undefined patriarchical suppression of women. With its emphasis on politics, women's advancement and freedom, and its intended working-class readership, *The Socialist Woman* provides an appropriate vehicle for examining the discourse related to woman's citizenship for women of the working class and of alternate political persuasion.

METHODOLOGY: DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AS IDEOLOGY

By examining the constructions of gender and class in these publications and observing a body of instances that create a field of meaning, this research was intended to uncover the ideological nature of these three publications. Discourse analysis is a method that studies not only the text, but also the unspoken underpinnings of that text—that is, it seeks to uncover the codes, constructions, cultural assumptions, connotations, and ideological underpinnings embedded in the text. Lawrence Grossberg describes this as a process of "identifying correspondences between the workings of a given text and the social structures of experience."[20] The analysis focuses on the construction of social positions or identities and examines "how different practices, meanings, and identities are articulated together."[21] The researcher asks, "What are the interpretations of meaning and value created in the media and what is the relation to the rest of life?"[22] It also involves, as Pauly suggests, identifying the recurring patterns in discourse—the repetition of certain themes, phrases, rhetoric, and so on.[23] The methods used here are informed by theories developed by structuralists and post-structuralists in linguistic scholarship,[24] as well as by concepts derived from critical cultural studies.

Stuart Hall claims that ideology may be located in what Louis Althusser defined as the "systems of representation" through and "within which people live the imaginary relation to their real conditions of existence."[25] According to Hall, these ideological systems of representation may be uncovered through an analysis of discursive practices. Hall suggests an analysis of the text that seeks to uncover an unspoken pre-defined terrain, a "field of meanings," which, because of its unconscious and pervasive quality, contains the real seeds of ideological hegemony.[26]

Michel Foucault, a post-Marxist poststructuralist, refers to "discursive formations" as "conceptual frameworks which allow some modes of thought and deny others."[27] These discursive formations are the arenas for discourse; that is, they are a set of assumed—possibly unconscious—rules regarding what can be written, thought and acted upon in a particular field. In this study, it was supposed that "woman's citizenship" was a discursive formation, that there were predetermined rules and limits to the discourse that could occur around this gender identity.

Incorporating Foucalt's ideas of "discursive formations" and Hall's notion of a "field of meanings," each publication was read closely to discern constructions of woman as citizen. In order to locate gender-specific discourses related to citizenship, four categories were selected that relate to what historians have identified as the dominant ideologies for women during this period: woman as mother; woman as morally superior; woman as altruistic; and woman as fundamentally equal to man by natural or divine right.[28]

In addition, references to class difference were noted. That is, references to working-class women or bourgeois women, or arguments that based the need for suffrage on the conditions of class, were labeled and categorized. In addition, any constructions or definitions of women in the public sphere (other than those used as arguments for suffrage) were recorded.

The following are examples of each type of argument.

Woman as mother:

> "If any one . . . is entitled to vote, is it not the devoted mother who brings the boy into life and guards and nurtures him and shapes his character and directs his thought?[29]

Woman as Morally Superior:

> "[T]here can be no doubt that the participation of women in our public affairs has had a most elevating influence."[30]

Woman as Altruistic:

> "In what women . . . can inspire men to do through direct stimulus and by transmitting to them stronger intellects, more awakened souls, and a truer patriotism, lies the hope of humanity."[31]

Woman as Fundamentally Equal to Man:

> "It is your duty to demand an equal right to work for God and humanity as your husband and brother works. . . ."[32]

Approximately thirty issues from each publication over the ten-year time period of 1900-1910 were studied. For each publication, only articles related to suffrage or that distinctly identified their purpose as defining woman's role were read.[33] The purpose of selecting a ten-year span was to identify whether shifts in argument and rationale may have occurred within a publication, and to ascertain the range of discourse related to woman's identity as citizen. Content was compared across publications and within publications over time to answer these research questions for each publication:

1. What was the range and tenor of the discourse regarding woman as citizen with respect to the gender constructions defined above as mother, altruistic, morally superior, and equal to men?

2. Were there different constructions of the notion of woman as citizen *other than* the four predominant ideologies of mother, altruistic, morally superior, or as equal to men?

3. Were issues of class difference acknowledged or articulated? If so, what were the distinctions, constructions and representations of upper, middle and lower class women?

4. Were the representations of women the same in all three publications?

As presupposed definitions created by the culture and conditions in the first decade of the 20th century, it was expected that the four gender constructions would be present in all publications. Further, differences in how gender was defined were expected to correspond to, and differ by, class status. This expectation is based on Hall's observation that language usage reflects class structures within a capitalist society—that "it will be dependent on the nature of the social relations in which it is embedded, the manner in which its users are socially organized together, [and] the social and material contexts in which it is employed."[34]

Employing discourse analysis and a reading of ideology within the framework of poststructuralist materialist feminism accomplishes the main purpose of this study: examining the role of women's media in articulating and defining women's identity to ascertain the discursive constructions of the ideology of "woman as citizen" and whether these constructions transcended class boundaries.

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF WOMAN AS CITIZEN

In general, in response to the four research questions stated above, it was found that, in response to question four, even though the primary discursive arena remained the same, the representations of these constructions of women differed in the *Woman's Tribune*, *The Courant*, and *The Socialist Woman*. That is, the discourse found in the three women's publications conformed to the predominant ideologies that historians have identified for the period—woman as mother; woman as morally superior; woman as altruistic; and woman as equal to man—but each publication presented these constructions in a distinct fashion. Regarding question two, an alternative construction of woman as citizen was found in only one publication—*The Socialist Woman*. *The Socialist Woman* presented a distinctly different image and set of priorities regarding women's citizenship from that of the other two publications, and although some differences were expected, this publication revealed a greater departure from prevailing discourses than expected. In response to question three, it was found that, because of these differences between publications, and the nature of the discourse itself, the gender constructions appear to be related to class. This analysis, therefore, not only identifies the discursive constructions of woman, but also links these constructions to the social and economic arrangements they support.

CONSTRUCTIONS OF WOMAN AS CITIZEN

Woman's Tribune

The content of the *Woman's Tribune* regarding the suffrage question conformed to the four categories, with varying degrees of weight. The prevailing argument was based on woman's natural right to vote—her essential equality with men. In spite of an occasional vehement argument for suffrage, the tone of the *Tribune*'s content was restrained and the articulate, 'newsy' articles addressed the reader as mature, educated, broad-minded—concerned not only about achieving suffrage, but also about the range of new concerns spawned by the evolving industrialist, urban age. Overall, the four categories constituted the majority of discourse concerning woman's right to vote, and no one construction was overwhelmingly predominant.

The Courant

The image and expectations of woman as a voting citizen are not clear in the pages of *The Courant*, which was primarily, and admittedly, ambivalent on the issue of suffrage and reflected the overall uncertainty of the Federation of Women's Clubs on the question. Very few (less than five) references to suffrage were found from 1899-1903. There were, however, references to woman's ideal role, as perceived by club women. When they did appear, the suffrage positions in *The Courant* centered on the value of mothers as voters and woman's fundamental equality with man. The two constructions of woman's citizenship *as voter* least frequent in *The Courant* were altruism and moral superiority. This, however, stands in sharp contradiction to the images club women were creating for themselves. That is, club women most frequently justified their involvement in club work—and characterized that work—as altruistic and morally rich service to humanity. The editors did not consistently link that service, however, with advocacy for the opportunity to vote. *The Courant* woman's civic identity was tied to her love of home and children. "True life is altruistic," a 1903 article reads. "It believes in self-culture and self-blessing, but only that it may . . . better equip us as wives and mothers and members of society."[35]

By 1909, club women were willing to articulate the ways they felt equal to men and specially enabled as mothers for the good of society, but they could not find a way to translate these beliefs into suffrage advocacy, a position Lavinia Dock criticized as "cowardly," as she confronted club women's fear of "false public opinion."[36]

Indeed, a concern about propriety is evident in the content of *The Courant*. There were occasional references to a fear of appearing "manly," receiving public censure, and even private rebuke from one's husband. Any favorable references to suffrage were made usually because the cause was sanctioned by some well-respected authority, such as First Lady Helen Taft, Florence Nightingale, or Governor John A. Johnson of Minnesota.[37]

By 1909, modest pro-suffrage "arguments" began to appear in *The Courant*, such as an article entitled "Woman as Citizen" that articulated club women's actions and priorities as "citizen" behavior and tied those endeavors to the right to vote: "The trouble is that while we have achieved the form and semblance of the citizen, we have not realized citizenship . . . which is the working combination of constitutional powers with the obligation to exercise such power. . . ."[38]

The Socialist Woman

No gentility or reserve was observed in *The Socialist Woman* editor's position on suffrage. This was because Josephine Conger-Kaneko promoted socialism and suffrage simultaneously and for the same reason: emancipation of women. The suffrage question received more coverage in *The Socialist*

Woman, both in number of issues and length of articles, than in either *The Courant* or the *Woman's Tribune*. The first issue of *The Socialist Woman* was published in June, 1907; the first suffrage article appeared in November of that year, and then, with the exception of five months, every month thereafter until December, 1909. Moreover, two "suffrage numbers" were published. Certainly, the overtly political tone and *raison d'etre* of *The Socialist Woman* linked it with the suffrage issue. The terrain on which socialists fought was political; if women were to have any strength in society, in political reforms, and in achieving equality, they must also have the franchise.

The four constructions of woman as citizen were more difficult to discern in *The Socialist Woman*. Even though references were made to woman's role as mother and woman's essential equality with men, the rhetoric differed considerably from that found in the other two publications. For instance, the other two publications invoked attractive and favorable connections between motherhood and citizenship or suffrage advocacy. Conger-Kaneko, however, was sarcastic in her praise when she wrote, "Sacred motherhood! Divine motherhood! Be-au-ti-ful motherhood! I know a voter so chivalrous . . . he would not for a moment entertain the idea of the mother of his brood of six voting. . . . Sacred motherhood! No!"[39] The socialist woman's equality with man was presented as a desired state concurrent with economic reforms: "When the full realization of all this freedom comes, then, and then only, will she stand as the equal of man—who shall also have achieved economic freedom from his kind."[40]

The constructions of woman as altruistic and morally superior were also articulated differently. The reader of *The Socialist Woman* (and *The Progressive Woman*) was frequently instructed to put her own emancipation above other concerns and to fight for the ballot on the basis of her socially and politically impoverished condition. The vote was not presented as a tool for altruistic service—the vote meant freedom and power, especially the opportunity to effect revolutionary change that would enhance women's conditions.[41]

The morally superior construction, as a rationale for the right to vote, was not found in the newspaper issues examined. Although women criticized men as a voting group, they did not see themselves as being able to effect, on a moral plane, any higher standards. For example, in an article by Conger-Kaneko entitled "Woman's Intelligent Vote Will Abolish the Liquor Traffic," the argument is not that women will impose higher moral standards through the ballot; rather, it is a diatribe against the inequality of a system that denies a woman the opportunity to express an opinion through the vote on a matter that affects her intimately, particularly if she is married to a "drunken husband."[42] Conger-Kaneko's primary argument is equality and economic revolution, not the necessity of women's moral imposition.[43]

Woman as mother and woman as equal to man did appear in *The Socialist Woman*, but as mentioned earlier, the articulations of these positions are distinct from those in *The Courant* or the *Woman's Tribune*. Equality with men was not strongly asserted; in fact, a particularly strong article in the April, 1908, issue called men "indolent" and "politically stupid."[44] The construction of women as equal to men would thus seem distinctly unattractive. Most significant, however, is the criticism of the inequality of capitalist society. Under the capitalist system, men themselves could not be equal to each other, so how could women ever be equal with men? Elizabeth Cady Stanton, herself, asserted, "It is impossible to have 'equal rights for all' under our present competitive system."[45] Lena Morrow Lewis explored this perspective in the February, 1908, issue, calling the ballot a "social necessity" rather than a natural right.[46]

With respect to the woman as mother construction, some articles evoked images of hearth and home but portrayed the home as slave quarters, with the husband the tyrannical master. Still, arguments in *The Socialist Woman* occasionally invoked the prevailing notion of woman as mother. Arguments were frequently tailored toward mothers or women who worked at home, not as actual readers, but as "states." In other words, articles in *The Socialist Woman* referred to the state of motherhood or homemaker as a construction of gender to which all readers could relate, even if they were wage earners. In one article, the two were combined into one "working class": "There are two great bodies of women in the working class, the mothers engaged in keeping the home and the women actually employed in the factories and shops."[47] The suffrage could be seen as a benefit to both; it would benefit mothers by enabling them to enact reforms that would improve conditions for their children, and it would benefit wage-earning women by improving conditions in the workplace.

ALTERNATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF WOMAN AS CITIZEN

No other representations were found of women—particularly of the ideal voting woman—in the pages of the *Woman's Tribune* or *The Courant*. Only *The Socialist Woman* offered another construction of woman as citizen, namely, woman as independent revolutionary.

There was a much more defiant and contentious tone to the articles in *The Socialist Woman*. Statements were heavily weighted in favor of suffrage as a means of reform and a way to alleviate the burdens of the working class. In addition, lines were often drawn tightly between working women and upper class women, and between men and women, even socialist men. The reader of *The Socialist Woman* was often presented with pugnacious statements regarding men, the Socialist Party, and upper class women. Other articles attacked the "bourgeois" suffrage movement and the Federation of Women's Clubs. Contributors to the magazine frequently portrayed working class women in a unique double oppression: They were disfranchised as women and mistreated as workers. Furthermore, these women could not rely on any other protector. The writers felt abandoned by their party and found themselves on an ideological plane different from that of other suffragists.[48]

Although men were criticized in *The Courant* and the *Woman's Tribune*, middle and upper class women criticized men voters for not having the high moral standards women voters would have. Socialist women criticized the entire capitalist system in which men participated. They did not wish to "elevate" men or the body of voters; they wanted full-scale reform. This perspective seems entirely linked to the class status of the readers of *The Socialist Woman* as compared to the other two publications. In addition, socialist women sought their power in relative isolation. While club women may have seen the powerful political echelon as potential allies, and readers of the *Woman's Tribune* may have rested comfortably in the notion of shared equality with men and working side-by-side as partners, socialist women found themselves in an agitated, separate realm.

Some historians of the period claim that socialist women first advocated for socialism and then believed this would bring about the ballot—that the ballot meant nothing without the large scale political reform socialist women desired. These arguments were presented in *The Socialist Woman*, but in equal measure with strong admonitions to work for the ballot *and* the revolution and not wait for one to bring about the other. Articles repeatedly encouraged socialist women to enter and transform suffrage organizations, or to educate women not only to the need for the vote but also to the importance of using that vote to bring about a socialist government.[49]

While most suffrage advocates saw the suffrage as a goal in itself, socialist women saw its advantage as a tool to achieve their reforms. Educating women to vote also meant educating them to vote for socialism. While this was not a gender construction, per se, it did present an image of the woman citizen as revolutionary. What *The Socialist Woman* seemed to convey was that the woman who earned the right to vote—who was an enfranchised citizen of the United States—would also be a socialist. Frequently, articles in *The Socialist Woman* referred to the "potential suffragist converts," or to winning women over to gain the ballot and, in the process, teaching them what to vote for. In a plea to the participants of the Socialist National Convention, a writer made this threat: "If you do not champion the woman's cause . . . then the women will flock to those who are willing to help them. . . . By making the woman's cause your own you not only prove your loyalty to the exploited and oppressed, you also win over to Socialism thousands of women. . . ."[50]

In addition to promoting full-scale sociopolitical reform, the other strategy apparent in the content of *The Socialist Woman* was conversion of the mainstream suffrage movement. Socialist women and working women believed the suffrage movement to be bourgeois and essentially unresponsive to their needs. Twice, in 1908, *The Socialist Woman* articles and editorials encouraged working women to join existing suffrage organizations primarily for the purposes of gaining influence. For example, one editorial said, "The first thing is to get women into the locals, and to spread the socialist teaching among them by any method that gets results. . . . [T]hese socialist women would join existing suffrage bodies, and in such numbers as to control them, if possible."[51]

In a 1907 article, author Josephine R. Cole proposed that socialist women enter the suffrage movement, not only for the ultimate goal of suffrage, but also to convert the women in the movement to socialist ideals, making it "no longer a bourgeois movement, but a working-class movement."

CONSTRUCTIONS AND MATERIALITY—CLASS CONSIDERATIONS

Woman's Tribune

References to women as property owners and taxpayers as a rationale for suffrage were found in the *Woman's Tribune*, although this was not directly identified as a class concern. Some of these passages did not suggest that taxpaying or property ownership requirements assured a higher class woman voter; rather, they simply indicated that the taxpaying argument was effective.[53]

Articles in the *Tribune* acknowledged women's increasing participation in the work force, but these observations carried no sense of separateness between working women and the monied classes. In fact, Colby united all women under the definition of working women when, in March, 3, 1906, she wrote, "Women . . . whether they work in their homes or abroad, are equally building up the material and intellectual advancement of their commonwealth and are entitled to the aid of [the] ever broad-minded and progressive person."[54]

Class interests were not offered often as a rationale for suffrage, although, occasionally, the vote was argued for in terms of how it would help the working woman. Colby did report that the 1906 *Labor Record* indicated that the prime cause of women's disabilities as a wage earner was disfranchisement.[55] Only one reference to the socialist movement was found in the issues read, and that was a reader's criticism of socialist newspapers that failed to advocate woman's suffrage.[56]

The Courant

Club women, as portrayed through *The Courant*, seem to have been caught in a dilemma over suffrage and working women. While they saw suffrage as a potential force for good in terms of women who endured unjust labor laws, they did not want to endorse the right to vote for fear of impropriety or a loss of social and political standing. Their validity and authority as club women depended on their image of righteousness, moral certainty, and care for the less fortunate. To seem allied with the politically charged suffrage issue and its often countercultural allies threatened their carefully crafted persona.

During these years, the club women did not see what they could do with the vote, but they understood how it could help "other women." Frequent articles in *The Courant* acknowledged the importance of the vote for working women, but the tone of these appeals was matronizing, implying that *Courant* readers could justify the vote if it were seen as some sort of service to lower class women. Upstanding, socially correct women would not want the vote for themselves, but it was acceptable to want it for their "less fortunate" sisters.[57]

Some statements in *The Courant* referred to women's apparent indifference to the vote.[58] This reported indifference illustrates that club women may have believed they could do good for society through club involvement and therefore would not need the vote. Their sense of agency, either through their club work or through their affiliation with the politically powerful, superceded an urgency for suffrage. This, then, explained the club woman's indifference as reported in *The Courant*. It also highlights a distinct difference between classes of women and how they perceived the vote. Involvement in social problems was essential, but it appears club women felt that could be accomplished without suffrage and without alienating the "respectable" authorities who did not support a woman's right to vote. The indifference also reveals the absence of any sense of urgency around obtaining the vote for reasons of self-protection. Working women, as portrayed in *The Socialist Woman*, thought they needed the vote for their own protection; *The Courant* readers didn't seem to require the vote, either for protection or agency. As long as club women saw themselves as essentially privileged, and able to do good for the less fortunate, they failed to see how the ballot empowered them personally.

Hence, *The Courant* failed to take a strong stance supporting or rejecting suffrage. The publication finally endorsed the effort only after the editors observed that other respected members of society and public opinion in general had moved to support such a measure. At that time the editors relied on arguments with which no dedicated club woman could have disagreed—the use of the vote for popular reform measures for children, sanitation and education.[59]

The Socialist Woman

The prevailing argument for suffrage in *The Socialist Woman* was defiance of the "capitalist patriarchy." Universal suffrage was the rallying call for socialist and working women. The vote was so crucial as a means of protection that any suffrage right extended to women must include working women. A franchise extended only to upper class women would achieve none of the full-scale reform socialists sought; therefore, the suffrage arguments attacked the bourgeois references to property rights, and indeed bourgeois women themselves, and advocated for the working class, the women most oppressed in a capitalist system. In other words, the economic status of these women informed and guided their suffrage rhetoric. They sought not only the vote, but also the vote extended to all women, and for the purposes of reform, specifically socialist reform. Repeatedly, these assertions were intertwined in the arguments promoting suffrage, helping to establish the image of woman as needing to fight for her own survival and freedom.[60]

The absence of the construction of woman as morally superior as a rationale for suffrage in *The Socialist Woman*, considering its inclusion in the other two publications, may suggest that economically privileged women felt a greater sense of moral superiority than did working women. Middle and upper class women believed that education, temperance, and sexual purity were *their* values. That *The Socialist Woman* did not include rhetoric concerning woman's moral superiority as a basis for the franchise, while the other two publications did, suggests a moral/ideological rift between classes of women.

DIFFERENCES IN GENDER CONSTRUCTIONS AMONG PUBLICATIONS

Woman's Tribune

Through the breadth of its articles, the moderate rhetoric, and the recurring claim for equality of the sexes, the *Woman's Tribune* presented a less idealistic image, and a more pragmatic and natural construction of woman than the other two publications studied. The construction of gender was perhaps looser in the *Woman's Tribune* because that construction was based on the belief in prevailing equality and natural right.

Although articles in the *Woman's Tribune* utilize all four of the predominant constructions of woman's citizenship, the presentation was less one-sided and more eclectic than the other two publications studied. The primary image of woman in the *Woman's Tribune* was someone endowed with natural rights and liberties, educated, and concerned with how morals and values might be upheld—both in the polls and at home. The *Tribune* content also appealed to women readers' unique status as mothers and how as mothers they might contribute to the betterment of society.

The Courant

The overall image created of the woman as citizen in the pages of *The Courant* is conflicted. Deeply concerned with social service and improving social conditions, the club woman needed a certain level of respectability and status to serve effectively. This respectability was threatened by the general agitation over suffrage and how it forced a reconceptualization of woman's role. Club women saw themselves as altruistic and morally superior, but to endorse suffrage required an uncomfortable alliance with wage-earning women and an oppositional stance to the monied, powerful class. They needed a way to combine acceptable notions of womanhood with the justice and power of enfranchisement. Service to their less fortunate sisters, and articulations as to how the vote would help homemakers achieve their goals, became the successful rhetorical compromise.

When the suffrage movement gained more popular support, and the support of elected officials, the Federation women moved smoothly into a suffrage advocacy role they had found so ill-fitting in previous years. They could not stand with their lower class sisters or with the "paupers and the idiots."[61] They resolved this and enlarged their commitment to serving others by equating suffrage with an efficient means of serving working women and further enabling women who "worked" in the home.

The Socialist Woman

Evident in the pages of *The Socialist Woman* and *The Progressive Woman* (as the former was later named) was a different notion of woman as citizen and what she was to accomplish with her enfranchised status. The categories of woman as mother and woman as equal to men appear, but not necessarily as ideals. Furthermore, the class sensitivity is so acute as to create a new construction of woman based on her working status, creating a motivation for her enfranchisement and for ultimate revolution. Finally, this independent revolutionary—not beholden to any organization or individual—is the image of the woman citizen that seemed most promoted in *The Socialist Woman*. Hence, a new discursive realm appeared in *The Socialist Woman*, and it was a realm determined by the material conditions of women's existence. Although the ideology differed, the roots of woman's gender construction remained economic.

CONCLUSION

This study provides only a small piece of the puzzle related to the overall picture of gender constructions in history. The focus here was on woman's citizen identity, and the various notions concerning woman's social and political involvements.

The three publications chosen for study were intended to represent a cross-section of readers from various socioeconomic classes and all were chosen because they were published for and by women with a stated political or social service inclination. By studying and observing instances—textual passages—which created a field of meanings, an overall discursive construction was defined. This discursive construction correlated to four ideologies of woman's identity characterized by historians: woman as mother, woman as altruistic, woman as morally superior, and woman as equal to man. The research on the three women's publications revealed, however, distinct differences in articulations of "woman as citizen." Although some constructions prevailed—namely woman as mother and woman as equal to man—the ways these were articulated, and the supporting rhetoric, varied by publication and, hence, presumably, by class.

What seems, then, to determine media's role in preserving cultural hegemony is the adherence to a set of discursive constructions, previously defined as a set of rules, conditions and constraints that make possible what can be said regarding a given subject. In his article, "The Rediscovery of 'Ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies," Stuart Hall refers to this as "consensus formation." Further, Hall suggests that consensus is not just around rules of discourse; rather, it encompasses the whole societal structure itself—"conformity to the rules of a very definite set of social, economic and political structures."[62] If these structures are oppressive or unjust—racist, sexist, classist—then ideological struggle becomes integral to resistance against these structures. Thus, we are well served by understanding the connection between ideology and media.

Hennessey observes that such historical study also provides a better understanding of how discourses from a particular moment in history may continue to exercise ideological pressures on the present.[63] By locating the discursive constructions of woman as citizen in three early 20th century publications, this study traces an ideological heritage that may help us understand better the historical—and perhaps present day—relationship of media discourse and gender ideology.

ENDNOTES

1. Rosemary Hennessey, *Materialist Feminism and the Politics of Discourse* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), p. 14.

2. John Pauly, "A Beginner's Guide to Doing Qualitative Research in Mass Communication," *Journalism Monographs* 125 (February, 1991), p. 14.

3. Gunther R. Kress, *Linguistic Processes in Sociocultural Practice* (Victoria: Deakin University Press, 1985), pp. 6-7.

4. David Paul Nord, "Intellectual History, Social History, Cultural History . . . and Our History," *Journalism Quarterly* 67:4 (Winter 1990), pp. 645-648.

5. Stuart Hall, "Culture, the Media and the 'Ideological Effect'," in *Mass Communication and Society*, James Curran, Michael Gurevitch, Janet Woollacott, eds. (Sage Publications, 1979), p. 340.

6. Hennessey, *op cit.*, p. xi.

7. This observation of Marxist thought is derived from the Marxist notions of "false consciousness" and the importance of ideology in maintaining dominant ruling ideas—see especially Hall, "Culture, the Media and the 'Ideological Effect'," *op cit.*, pp. 315-348; also Armand Mattelart, *Mass Media, Ideologies and the Revolutionary Movement*, Malcolm Coad, trans. (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980), pp. 11-16; and Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Toward an Investigation," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, B. Brewster, trans. (London: Penguin Press, 1971), pp. 142-184.

8. David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, eds., *Antonio Gramsci: Selections from Cultural Writings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 386. For further exploration of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, see also Chantal Mouffe, *Gramsci and Marxist Theory* (London: Routledge, 1979).

9. Hennessey, *op cit.*, p. 15

10. Literature primarily about the suffrage press includes: Martha Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1991), which cites several local and national studies; Lana F. Rakow and Cheris Kramarae, eds., *The Revolution in Words, Righting Women 1868-1871* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Marion Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977); and articles by Lynne Masel-Walters, Anne Mather and Linda Steiner, as noted in bibliography.

11. Georgia NeSmith, "Gender and Progressivism: Voices from *The Courant*, 1899-1904," unpublished paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, History Division, 1987.

12. Ann Schofield, "Rebel Girls and Union Maids: The Woman Question in the Journals of the AFL and IWW, 1905-1920," *Feminist Studies* 9 (1983), pp. 335-358.

13. Angela McRobbie, "*Jackie*: An Ideology of Adolescent Femininity," in *Popular Culture: Past and Present*, Bernard Waites, Tony Bennett and Graham Martin, eds. (London: Open University, 1982).

14. E. Claire Jerry, "The Role of Newspapers in the Nineteenth-Century Woman's Movement," in *A Voice of Their Own*, *op cit.*, pp. 126-128.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

16. Mary I. Wood, *The History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs for the first 22 years of its organization* (New York: General Federation of Women's Clubs, History Department, 1912), p. 166.

Other histories of the General Federation of Women's Clubs include: Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1980); and Mildred White Wells, *Unity in Diversity; the History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs* (Washington: General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1953).

17. NeSmith, *op cit.*, p. 4.

18. Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1981), pp. 113-117. For an analysis of this publication, see John Graham, ed., *"Yours for the Revolution": the* Appeal to Reason, *1895-1922*. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1990).

19. *The Socialist Woman*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1907.

20. Lawrence Grossberg, "Strategies of Marxist Cultural Interpretation," in *Critical Perspectives on Media and Society*, Robert K. Avery and David Eason, eds. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1991), p. 151.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

22. Clifford Christians and James Carey, "The Logic and Aims of Qualitative Research," in *Research Methods in Mass Communication*, 2nd edition, guido Stempel and Bruce Westley, eds. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), p. 359.

23. Pauly, *op cit.*, p. 19.

24. Structuralism and post-structuralism as research approaches are described and discussed in Stuart Hall, "Cultural Studies: two paradigms," in *Media, Culture and Society, a Critical Reader*, Collins, Curran, Garnham, Scannell, Schlesinger and Sparks, eds. (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1986), and Richard Johnson, "Histories of Culture/Theories of Ideology," in *Ideology and Cultural Production*, Barrett, Corrigan, Kuhn and Wolff, eds. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979). Additional works on critical linguistics that provided insight and direction for this study are: Teun van Dijk, "Discouse and Cognition in Society," in *Communication Theory Today*, David Crowley and David Mitchell, eds. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994); Teun van Dijk, "The Interdisciplinary Study of News as Discourse," in *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research*, Klaus Bruhn Jensen and Nicholas W. Jankowski, eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 1991); Teun van Dijk, *News Analysis* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 1988); Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991); Roger Fowler, Bob Hodge, Gunther Kress and Tony Trew, *Language and Control* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979); Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge, *Language as Ideology* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979); Gunther Kress, "Ideological Structures in Discourse," in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, vol. 4, Teun van Dijk, ed. (London: Academic Press, 1985).

25. Stuart Hall, "Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates," in *Critical Perspectives on Media and Society, op cit.*, p. 109.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

27. John Storey, *An Introductory Guide to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1993), pp. 91-92.

28. Aileen S. Kraditor, in *The Ideas of the Woman's Suffrage Movement* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1965), identified two types of argument used by suffragists: the "justice" argument based on an assumption of the natual equality of human beings, and the "expediency" argument, based on the notion that woman suffrage would benefit society and offer women self-protection as well as societal reforms. The ideology of Educated Motherhood for both upper class and working women, as well as the "morality" argument, is explored in Sheila Rothman's book, *Woman's*

Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the present (New York: Basic Books, 1978). Other works that focus on the ideology of women around the turn of the 20th century include: Steven M. Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States* (London: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987); Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1989); Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975); Jean E. Friedman and William G. Shade, *Our American Sisters: Women in American Life and Thought* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1973); Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic* (New York and London: Norton, 1980); Aileen S. Kraditor, ed., *Up From the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968); Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," *American Historical Review* 89 (June, 1984); Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966). Works that examined the idelogy of the working class and the working woman's relationship to the suffrage movement include: Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Ellen Carol DuBois, "Working women, class relations, and suffrage militance: Harriot Stanton Blatch and the New York woman suffrage movement, 1894-1909," in *Unequal Sisters, A Multicultural Reader in United States Women's History*, Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz, eds. (New York: Routledge, 1990); Nancy Schrom Dye, "Creating a Feminist Alliance: Sisterhood and Class Conflict in the New York WTUL, 1903-1914," *Feminist Studies*, 2 (1973); Sarah Eisenstein, *Give Us Bread But Give Us Roses, working women's consciousness in the United States, 1890 to the First World War* (London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983); Phillip S. Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement: from the first trade unions to the present* (New York: Free Press, 1982); Robin Jacoby, "The Women's Trade Union League and American Feminism," *Feminist Studies* 2 (1975); Carol Lasser, "Gender, Ideology and Class in the Early Republic," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 10 (Fall 1990); Meredith Tax, *The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980).

29. *Woman's Tribune*, January 6, 1906.

30. *Ibid.*, July 14, 1900.

31. *Ibid.*, January 12, 1901.

32. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1906.

33. This was not uncommon; the "woman question" was in widespread debate and conversation during this period, so publications often identified articles as addressing themselves to the "woman question."

34. Hall, "Culture, the Media and the 'Ideological Effect'," *op cit.*, p. 328.

35. *The Courant*, June, 1903.

36. *Ibid.*, April, 1909.

37. See, for example, *The Courant*, March, 1908; April, 1908; December, 1908.

38. *The Courant*, November, 1909.

39. *The Socialist Woman*, November, 1908.

40. *The Progressive Woman*, March, 1909.

41. See, for example, *The Socialist Woman*, February, 1908; June, 1908; July, 1908; and *The Progressive Woman*, July, 1909.

42. *The Socialist Woman*, December, 1908.

43. See also *The Progressive Woman*, April, 1909.

44. *The Socialist Woman*, April, 1908.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*, February, 1908.

47. *Ibid.*

48. See, for example, *The Socialist Woman*, February, 1908; May, 1908; June, 1908; and *The Progressive Woman*, March, 1909.

49. *The Socialist Woman*, October, 1908, and *The Progressive Woman*, March, 1909, for example.

50. *The Socialist Woman*, May, 1908.

51. *Ibid.*, June, 1908.

52. *Ibid.*, November, 1907.

53. See, for example, *Woman's Tribune*, November 3, 1900.

54. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1906.

55. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1906.

56. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1908.

57. For example, *The Courant*, March, 1908.

58. *The Courant*, May, 1909; May, 1910.

59. *Ibid.*, May, 1910. See also *The Courant*, May, 1909, regarding changes in tariff bills that would offer protection to working women and an April, 1909, article on women's newly acquired right to vote in Chicago municipal elections, noting Jane Addams' arguments on behalf of wage-earning women.

60. See, for example, *The Socialist Woman*, February, 1908; March, 1908.

61. *The Courant*, June, 1909. Club women began to recognize that their disfranchised status placed them in the same category as the uneducated, the poor and criminals. Reference to "paupers and idiots" was made by Federation president Sarah S. Platt Decker when she wrote, "[T]he men of the suffrage states . . . prefer to have the mothers of their sons and daughters classed as citizens, rather than as 'criminals, paupers and idiots!'"

62. Stuart Hall, "The rediscovery of 'ideology': return of the repressed in media studies," in *Culture, Society and the Media*, Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott, eds. (New York and London: Routledge, 1982), pp. 63-64.

63. Hennessey, *op cit.*, p. 119.

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Don Bolles: News Martyr of the 1970s
Enigma of the 1990s

by

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Introduction

On June 2, 1976 a bomb ripped out the bottom of Arizona Republic reporter Don Bolles' late model Datsun, shattering the journalist's legs and right arm. Bolles clung to life for ten days, but succumbed to his injuries on June 13, 1976. His murder sparked perhaps the most intense investigation by journalists in history, yet today the murder and the results of the journalistic investigation remain the subject of controversy.[1]

The outcry from the journalism community was immediate from both local and national sources. A call went out for a thorough investigation into the political and social climate of Arizona which fostered the brutal murder. Concern and interest spawned a centralized project which gathered investigative reporters from around the United States to Phoenix in what would become known as the Arizona Project.

During the course of the project, more than 40 investigative reporters, from 24 newspapers nationally, participated in the search for information. Several television and radio stations also participated in the effort to find information that would explain why a news reporter was killed.[2]

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[1] See Amigone, T. And Wolfson B. (1988) The Arizona Conspiracy? Creative Paranoia for a discussion on the continuing controversy about the "Arizona Conspiracy." See also M. Wendland (1988), The Arizona Project, specifically the updated epilogue. Also Cockburn, A. (1991) Lesson For The Day in The Nation.

Editor & Publisher Magazine proclaimed Bolles the seventh martyr of the American press and ran a series of articles on martyred journalists which culminated with a story on Bolles.[3] The New York Times, The Washington Post, the Chicago Tribune, The Los Angeles Times and most other major daily newspapers in the US covered the subsequent investigation into Bolles' death on a timely and often daily basis. The Arizona Republic carried daily stories on the investigation from the time of the June 2 bombing until mid-August, when then City Editor Robert Early took a much needed break from lengthy days coordinating a team of reporters on the Republic staff assigned solely to the Bolles' killing. Still, Republic stories continued at a rate of several stories weekly into the winter of 1976.[4]

The Arizona Project was the brain-child of a newly-formed organization called Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc. The group's leadership saw in Bolles' death an opportunity to flex the muscle of investigative reporting. They called upon reporters from newspapers throughout the country to form a journalistic team to write a series of stories which would outline why and how such a heinous crime against a reporter could take place in the United States.[5]

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[2] The exact number of journalists directly involved in the project has remained "flexible." Some were involved in the investigation for only a few days. Others, like Ron Koziol, Michael Wendland and Robert Greene worked throughout the project. Forty remains a "best guess" for significant contributions to the project.

[3] See Saalberg, H. (July 31, 1976). Martyrs to the Press: Donald F. Bolles. Editor & Publisher pp. 23, 32.

[4] Author's personal telephone interview with Robert Early Sept. 6, 1994.

As IRE began its project in earnest in October, 1976, news organizations pledged to create investigative journalism scholarships in Bolles' name to remember the reporter and the cause of investigative reporting. Among those pledging participation were the Arizona Republic and the IRE.[6] Other groups also sought to praise Bolles in death through the establishment of awards. Nearly 20 years later, however, most of those pledges have ended without action. Bolles today is often remembered only in vague terms as a footnote to the investigation which spawned the Arizona Project and helped launch IRE.

Much of the lack of recognition for Bolles' reporting is the result of controversies which arose following his death; quarrels which had little to do with the reporter himself. In the months which followed, the effort was generally to explain the climate and circumstances of Bolles' murder. Yet, there arose a great deal of criticism about the facts of the journalistic investigation and whether all of the participants were working in the best interests of journalism and justice. The criticisms were not centralized, but were leveled against nearly every group involved in some aspect of the investigation. Critics blasted the IRE, the Arizona Republic and its publisher, individual reporters, police and the criminal justice system in Arizona.[7] Many of those criticisms were just, some remain suspicious today.

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[5] See Aucoin, J.L. (1992). The Founding of IRE and the Practice of Investigative Journalism. Paper presented at the annual conference of Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Aug. 5-8, 1992, Montreal, Canada.

[6] Saalberg (1976).

This paper reexamines many of the questions which arose during and after the Arizona Project. The primary purpose here is to critique the journalistic endeavors and behavior of the IRE, the Arizona Republic and several of the journalists involved in the project from one of those perspectives. Still, contextual background is necessary to paint a full view of the story. The sources of this report include substantive interviews with four individuals who were either employees of the Arizona Republic or directly involved in the journalism of the Bolles' investigation, yet they had not been previously interviewed about the project. Other sources include two books written about the investigation, particularly Michael Wendland's personal account of the Arizona Project and nearly 50 articles in which appeared stories, comments and criticisms about the Arizona Project and Don Bolles' story.

It is speculated that some individuals within the IRE may have been overly concerned with legitimization issues which unfortunately clouded the long range prospects for recognizing Bolles' contributions to the field. Perhaps, in some small way, the recognition Don Bolles deserves for his dogged reporting methods will now be rewarded, not forgotten.

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[7] See: Bradlee on IRE (Dec. 1976). The Quill, p. 27; Wendland, M.F. (1977). The Arizona Project, pp. 252-253; Seib, C. B. (Feb. 18, 1977). Follow-Up To A Murder: 'Vigilante' Journalism. Washington Post, p. A16; Tallberg, M. (1977). Don Bolles: An Investigation Into His Murder.

The Criminal Investigation

State, county and local police very quickly had a suspect in the Bolles' bombing. In fact, Bolles' had named his probable assailant before slipping into unconsciousness on the parking lot pavement outside the Clarendon House Hotel in downtown Phoenix. The name was John Adamson.[8]

Adamson was well-known to Phoenix police and reportedly had ties to organized crime. Bolles had been contacted by Adamson several weeks earlier and had met with Adamson to discuss the Emprise Corporation with the reporter. Emprise was a sports concessions company headquartered in Buffalo, NY. Emprise had contracts with a variety of major league sports organizations and cities. Bolles had traveled through the tangled web of the Emprise organization and wrote a number of investigative stories on the company during the early 1970s. So when Adamson called about Emprise, Bolles was curious. Though Adamson had claimed to have information Bolles would find "interesting," an initial meeting had produced nothing. Instead Bolles told Adamson to call him back when he had solid information.

Adamson had called Bolles several days before June 2 and had arranged the meeting at the Clarendon House Hotel. Bolles arrived on time, but Adamson did not show up for the meeting. But while he was waiting, Adamson apparently called the hotel, had Bolles' paged and told him the meeting was off. Bolles shrugged it off and telephoned the Arizona Republic office to tell editors the meeting was a bust. He told the desk he was leaving to attend the monthly luncheon of the Society of Professional Journalists, across town from the Clarendon House.[9] Then came the explosion.

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[8] One of the best accounts of the murder investigation appears in Lindsey, R. (Feb. 6, 1977). The Anatomy of a Reporter's Murder. New York Times Magazine. Pp. 11-14, 71.

Adamson was quickly a wanted man, but police held off on arresting him, fearing that he would flee the state or the country after posting bail. Since Bolles was still alive, attempted murder was the most serious charge they could file against Adamson. Instead, they kept him under observation. After Bolles' death, Adamson was charged with the murder.

It is likely that Adamson would have been implicated quickly even without Bolles' sidewalk indictment. Several reporters knew that Bolles was on his way to meet Adamson. They also knew that Bolles was skeptical that Adamson, known as a small-time hood to reporters, would have helpful knowledge about Emprise.[10]

Following Adamson's arrest, the investigation began to widen into an apparent conspiracy. Adamson at first refused to talk, but by January began to unravel. He pleaded guilty to a charge of second degree murder. In exchange for his plea on the lesser charge, he named Jimmy Robison, a 54-year-old plumber as the individual who actually detonated the bomb on Bolles's car. He also named Max Dunlap, a land developer, as the man who hired him to kill Bolles.

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[9] In Wendland. Also personal interviews with Earl Zarbin and Robert Early.

[10] See Wendland. Also see Lindsey, Feb. 20, 1977.

Dunlap was a large contractor, well-known to Phoenix society and a protegee of Kemper Marley, one of Arizona's biggest figures in land holdings. Marley also "owned" the alcohol distribution system in the state. He was a multi-millionaire and carved out of the rock of Arizona's wild-west image.

While Adamson's statements and police reports pointed directly to Marley, he was never charged in the case. And it would take years before the wheels of Arizona justice stopped turning on Adamson, Robison and Dunlap.[11]

Adamson was originally sentenced to 20 years in prison in exchange for a guilty plea to second degree murder and his testimony against Robison and Dunlap. Robison and Dunlap were both subsequently convicted in the murder. But that wasn't the end of it.

In 1980, the Arizona Supreme Court overturned the convictions of Robison and Dunlap and said that Adamson had violated his plea agreement. The high court ordered all three men retried. With his plea agreement no longer valid, Adamson refused to testify against Robison or Dunlap. Subsequently, Adamson was convicted and sentenced to die in the gas chamber. The cases against

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[11] Note: The length of time in completing the process of prosecuting the individuals named by Adamson was amazing to some and disheartening to others. Final disposition of the criminal cases was not completed until January, 1994. See Wendland (1988), appendix; and Robbins, G. (June 19, 1993). Editor & Publisher, pp. 76, 67.

Dunlap and Robison were dismissed, but the prosecution was given leave to reinstate the case if a valid witness, i.e. Adamson, came forward.

For nearly a decade, nothing took place in the cases against Robison and Dunlap. Finally, in late 1989, Arizona Attorney General Bob Corbitt found reason to refile the cases. Adamson had languished in prison. His appeals nearly gone, Adamson found his voice at the new trials.

But again justice was not swift as the cases slogged on for more than four years. In November, 1993, Dunlap was convicted in the conspiracy to kill Bolles. Only a month later, on Dec. 18, 1993, Robison was found innocent of triggering the detonator which caused the explosion in Bolles's car. Robison, by then 71-years-old, went back to prison anyway. He was serving time for attempting to hire someone to kill a prosecution witness in the Bolles case.

In January, 1994, Dunlap was sentenced to life in prison for his part in the Bolles murder. If the outcome of that sentence is based on previous actions, the appeals process could take the rest of Dunlap's life.

Bolles: the Investigator

Of the several books written about the Arizona Project, two of them deal with Bolles' state of mind at the time of the bombing. The best-known work, The Arizona Project, written by Michael Wendland, details Bolles as a 24-hour-a-day reporter whose nerves were frayed and his attitude openly pessimistic by the fall of 1975, the year before the bombing. Robert Early, then Arizona Republic City Editor and Bolles' immediate supervisor agrees with that assessment of Bolles' mental state at the time. Because of his health, Bolles was removed from the investigative beat. However, some writers have speculated that Bolles was reassigned because he tended to be a bulldog on investigations...a bulldog who might have embarrassed Arizona's political elite. Early said that was a false interpretation of events. He reported the decision to take Bolles off of the investigative reporting beat was his call and that Bolles needed to be reassigned.[12]

"Don was one of those kind of guys who fell into stories everywhere he went, and that led to scandals," Early said. "So he would write these things, and it got to him. It got to the point where he was emotionally drained. He just couldn't face it anymore."

"He would write these things (scandalous stories) and there would be no convictions, no reforms, people would just kind of suck it up and nothing would come. He felt like he was spinning his wheels. It got to the point where he began to lose it. He couldn't even go into a room, a small room without feeling all closed in. He became emotionally distressed after a while.

"When that happened, I just took him off of investigative work altogether. We made an agreement. If people gave him tips and that kind of stuff, he would just write it up in a note and give it to me. We would give it to somebody else or whatever we needed to do with it. Sometimes he would do a little preliminary checking, just to make sure it wasn't a wild goose chase or something and then pass it along to me," Early continued.

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[12] Recorded telephone interview with Early by article author Sept. 6, 1994.

"In the meantime, he went to city hall and became our second guy at city hall. Primarily, it was to beef up the coverage of city hall, but also it was to give Don a break from what he was doing. He would be able to do some normal reporting and wouldn't have to deal with the slime all of the time." Early said.

"The trouble was, he wasn't over there very long when he broke a scandal on sales taxes, there was a sales tax scandal and he was right in the middle of that. So we pulled him off of that (city hall) and took him over to the legislature when the legislature came into session." Early said.

"It was something he could do. He was also covering democratic politics at the time. We were in an election year and working on conventions and all that stuff as well. Don liked politics, and he was busy."

"By this time (early to mid-1976), Don was recovered. He was really doing better. He was getting his pep back. But there was no intention of letting him get back into investigative reporting. There was no intention of ever letting him get back into investigative reporting. He had been pretty much burned out. It takes a lot out of you," Early said.

By the summer of 1976 Bolles was deeply immersed in the political arena and was involved in investigative reporting only to pass along information according to his agreement with Early. The meeting with Adamson, according to Early, was much like Bolles' occasional follow-ups on tips he would pass along.

"It's the kind of thing he would check out before passing along to the desk. It was one of those things that he would check out before writing me a note. I don't think he had any plan to pursue anything," Early added.

The time on the city hall and legislative beats had been a catharsis for Bolles. He was renewed and doing some of his best reporting in years according to Early.[13]

"But he was fine. He was coming around. At the time he got killed there was nothing wrong with him," said Early.

The Arizona Republic Responds

The bombing, and subsequent understanding that one of their own had been murdered, sent the newsroom of the Arizona Republic into a frenzy. Literally every reporter wanted to work on some aspect of the story. Early said that in the beginning, some wanted to simply get revenge on those who had killed Bolles. One of the most difficult tasks, according to Early, was to get everybody calmed down and back to their own work, putting out all of the stories of the daily paper.[14]

"Everybody wanted to get somebody. They wanted to do exposes, uncover corruption, get at the government," Early said. "It was a difficult time."

Slowly, over the course of several weeks, the mood evolved from one of utter anger to one of facing the responsibilities of getting the entire story.

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[13] Ibid Early interview.

[14] This description of events is confirmed through interview with Zarbin and William Shover. Shover is the vice president of community relations for the Arizona Republic newspapers. Zarbin retired from the Republic in 1992.

Immediately after the bombing, Early formed a team of six to eight reporters (the size shifted depending upon the needs of the investigation). As they gathered information, that material was kept in a secure room at the Republic.

"We had electronic locks on the door. We met in there every morning and every evening. In the morning we would decide what stories we would pursue for that day. In addition, we would decide what leads we would check out that day and the other stuff for the long term," Early said.

"After the stories were in for the day, we would meet again. We would sit down and talk over the events of the day, discuss what we had learned, and update the files. We did a lot of work updating the files. Then we would talk over what went right, what went wrong. Then I would sort of think on it overnight and we would get together the next day and start over again on story decisions."

"We had gathered a lot of information. From the day he got blown up, we started putting together files," Early added.

A substantial portion of those files would later be turned over to the IRE to support its investigation of the seamy side of Arizona, from the underworld to the state's entrenched political mind set. According to Early, materials were organized on a daily and long-term basis.

Land fraud, Emprise and the sports world, corruption in general, were all subjects which had been covered by the Arizona Republic. Bolles had focused on Emprise and corruption from the sports world. Another reporter, Al Sitter, had done most of the Republic's land fraud reporting[15]. But that was an area that also had peaked and Sitter was working on other stories when Bolles was killed.

Enter the IRE

Investigative Reporters and Editors had been incorporated less than two months before the fatal bombing in Arizona. A group of reporters and editors gathered in Reston, Virginia in February, 1975 to iron out the details of forming an organization to bring investigative reporters together to exchange information and tips on how to actively pursue journalistic investigations. As a result of the meeting, the group formed a board of directors and elected Ronald Koziol, an investigative reporter at the Chicago Tribune, its first president. Koziol and his position with IRE would later be casualties of the Bolles investigation.[16]

The group planned its first national conference for late June, 1976 and was proceeding with those plans when Bolles was killed. Koziol had worked with Bolles. The two reporters had exchanged information on Emprise Corporation when Bolles had traveled throughout the country investigating the sports concession enterprise. Bolles had uncovered a great deal of inappropriate activity on the part of Emprise and discovered connections with organized crime in both Detroit and Chicago.

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[15] Several sources have mistakenly reported that Bolles was deeply involved in land fraud. In fact, Bolles had not reported on land fraud after about 1969. (Sources: Robert Early and Earl Zarbin)

[16] Recorded interview by author with Ronald Koziol on Oct. 11, 1994. Koziol's personal account meshes well with the account in Wendland's Arizona Project, though Wendland does not examine the personal toll on Koziol's life.

Koziol was shocked when he learned of the bombing. But it was a fellow reporter at the Tribune, Michael McGuire who offered the initial suggestion to undertake the investigation.[17] Koziol broached the idea to fellow IRE board members Harley Bierce and Paul Williams. Williams was a Pulitzer prize winning investigative reporter who had become a professor at Ohio State University. Bierce was an award-winning investigative reporter at the Indianapolis Star, a sister paper to the Arizona Republic. Both newspapers were owned by the Pulliam family.

The three agreed to bring the investigation idea to the IRE board at the conference scheduled less than two weeks later. It was Williams who suggested that the investigation not attempt to cover the same ground as the Arizona Republic's investigation. He suggested it should be a continuation of Bolles' work. A further investigation into the underbelly of Arizona corruption.

Bolles died on June 13, 1976. The IRE's first conference was held in Indianapolis June 19-20. More than 200 investigative reporters from across the United States converged on Indianapolis that first conference weekend. The board unanimously approved a resolution to assemble a team of reporters to investigate the corruption in Arizona. Robert Greene, a two-time Pulitzer prize winning investigative reporter and editor at Newsday in Long Island, New York was named to coordinate the investigation. Koziol would continue as the organization's president.

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[17] Recorded interview by author with Ronald Koziol on Oct. 11, 1994.

In Phoenix

After some preliminary activities in late summer, the IRE team began to assemble in earnest in October, 1976. Their investigation would include Greene as a full-time editor/coordinator, about 25 reporters from across the United States, a group of Arizona-based reporters (both newspaper staff members and free-lancers) and a small cadre of journalism students from Arizona State University and the University of Arizona. The students would act as clerks and organizers for the reporters in the field.[18]

Among the reporters was Koziol, on leave from the Tribune, and Michael Wendland, of the Detroit News. Wendland later authored one of two books on the Arizona Project, as the investigation would come to be known. Wendland's book is probably the most authoritative of the materials written about Bolles. As a first person account, it develops both the facts of the investigation as well as the personalities involved in the investigation, providing a unique perspective into the inner workings of American journalism's investigative reporters.

As the investigation got underway, Greene and Early occasionally visited about the progress of their inquiries and both the newspaper and the IRE opened their files to one another throughout the investigation. While conversations were infrequent, the exchange of information was rather extensive. Some reporters on the IRE project have speculated that the Arizona

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[18] See especially: Bondarook, N. (March, 1977). The Arizona Squad: An Inside Story. The Quill, pp. 13-17.

Republic had ulterior motives in seeking the information. They believed that some people at the Republic were more interested in protecting the state's most powerful leaders than in pursuing the Bolles story. None of those allegations were ever proven, but when the Republic later refused to print the IRE series, the allegations led to finger-pointing by some sources.[19]

Reporters began compiling information from sources in Arizona, California and even a number of other states. The number of files and angles on the corruption in Arizona story began to mount at an astronomical rate. Sources of information seemed to be everywhere. Much of the early information the reporting team uncovered, however, was far more speculation than fact. The job of sifting the fact from the fiction became a focus of the team.

By mid-January most of the verifiable facts had been tracked down, some facts were still in the process of being checked out and a few leads were still being chased down. But for the most part, the news gathering was completed. Greene turned the group's attention to the process of writing the series.

New Troubles

During the four months of the investigation and fact gathering, the reporters had remained friendly, upbeat and worked well together. The reporters often worked in two-member teams and occasionally, when an assignment was considered risky, a backup team would keep an unobtrusive eye on the team potentially placing itself in harms way. But as the reporting ended and the writing began, the number of reporters working on the story steadily dropped to a smaller number.

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[19] Early strongly disagrees with the proposition that the Republic was protecting anyone. Wendland, however, contends that Early wasn't totally informed about his newspaper's motives (see Arizona Project, 1977, p. 249).

It was then that rumblings from some reporters in the group surfaced about the motives of both IRE and individual reporters. Ben Bagdikian, the well-known journalist, educator and author, had agreed in principle to write a book about the Arizona Project. But a final contract was never worked out and Bagdikian never published a word about the project.

There were concerns that some members in IRE were looking to turn the project into an IRE media event in order to help the organization gain instant notoriety. That was a far cry from the avowed purpose of the project...to uncover Arizona's corruption and carry on with Don Bolles' investigative work. Several reporters were becoming concerned about the IREs overall motives.[20] Back in Indianapolis, board members Pulliam and Bierce were reportedly trying to complete the deal with Bagdikian. Board members worried that some of the reporters involved in the project might decide to take literary action themselves. They wanted a single literary work to document the project's work. The single-mindedness in Indianapolis was not apparent in Phoenix. Eventually, numerous articles and two books were written by reporters about the project.

During February, as the writing and rewriting wore on, many of the reporters involved in the project headed returned to their own jobs. By the end of the month, the writing was complete. The series totaled 23 articles, most with sidebar stories and comprised more than 80,000 words. It was reviewed by a team of attorneys before being distributed to news departments.

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[20] See especially Wendland (1977), pp. 256-257.

Newsrooms received the series on March 4; with publication slated to begin on Sunday, March 13. Newsrooms were given a week to decide how they wanted to handle the series. The investigative team understood that some newspapers would be reluctant to publish the entire series.

On March 5, IRE held a meeting of its board members in Indianapolis. Koziol, now back at the Chicago Tribune, drove to the meeting. By the time the meeting was over, Koziol was appalled at how a tribute to a reporter was turning into what he believed was a fight for money.

There was an argument at the meeting about keeping the publication rights to the project strictly within the IRE. Several board members, including Pulliam and Bierce agreed that IRE and no one else should have the right to publish the events and activities of the project. They insisted that there was a pre-existing agreement between those involved that publication would be to IRE's benefit.[21]

"We had received national publicity," Koziol said. "And the next thing you know, it triggered the Hollywood types. At that time, they were bringing out all kinds of deals and a lot of people saw we could bring in a lot of money for the organization."

"These book deals, some said 'Let's restrict this, let's do our own book on this.' But others of us felt that was too restrictive." Koziol said.

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[21] Koziol, who never wrote a book, is adamant that no agreement existed. Wendland agrees.

"Here we were...how can you say you're fighting for freedom of the press, particularly on this project, where you had a colleague murdered and then we were going to put on these restrictions and nobody could do anything unless we said so. It just didn't rub me the right way," Koziol said.

Koziol knew there was no prior agreement among the reporters to restrict publication. He also knew that several people were planning to write about the project. He too was considering writing a book about his experiences in Phoenix with the project. By the time he had returned to Chicago, Koziol decided that he would resign as president and a member of the IRE board. On Monday, March 7, Koziol sent a telegram to Indianapolis announcing his resignation.

"I had only been with the Tribune about 16 years, and I wanted to make sure that I wasn't involved in anything that could jeopardize that position," Koziol said.

But in an ironic twist of events, the board retaliated. On Tuesday, March 8, the board issued a news release, saying in effect that Koziol was being "expelled" from the organization. The reasons were muddy, but it was clear that the IRE was claiming to be the only legal source for any literary activities about the project. Only their "official book" would be allowed.

"I was shocked," said Koziol. "I was devastated that they would do this to me. I was in the middle of a very successful career at the Chicago Tribune. So, to have this come out over the wire, and then I was called on the carpet. Here, we had cooperated with this whole investigation. I'm not sure they realized what they were doing to me as a human being. I almost lost my job and my whole career. I had a family and so it was, you know, a very difficult period."

"They had taken this attitude. You are on the board. You can't do this, you can't do that. Here we were fighting for freedom of the press, Don Bolles was our symbol, but we were being forbidden to talk about it. It didn't seem right," Koziol said.

Koziol never attempted to rejoin IRE.

"I went my own way. I continued to do a lot of investigating, including money laundering in central America and around the Caribbean. I had a successful career at the Tribune." Koziol said.

About the Arizona Project in general, Koziol believed and still believes it was a worthwhile effort. But following the board meeting, and the actions taken against Koziol, the Chicago Tribune decided against publishing the series.

There had been criticisms about the potential success of an investigation with out-of-state investigative reporters from the project's beginning. Ben Bradlee of the Washington Post had been critical, even to the point of addressing a Society of Professional Journalists meeting in Arizona on the subject. Washington Post Columnist Charles B. Seib called the project "vigilante journalism."[22]

Koziol was amazed at the negative reactions.

"This was an innovation, it was unusual. Our editors and papers had paid for us to participate in the project. We had been gone some time. Then we got the project, and the editors didn't know what to do with it. They didn't want to take responsibility for it. While they knew me...and while they knew other people, they didn't know the other editors," said Koziol.

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[22] See Seib, C.B. (Feb. 18, 1977). Follow-Up to a Murder: 'Vigilante' Journalism. Washington Post, p. A-16.

"The concept was so new, and we had gotten a bum rap from people like Bradlee at the [Washington] Post, we got bum rapped by a lot of big people in the industry. They said you couldn't do this type of reporting. That's a lot of crap. A lot of papers do it today. I mean they do it with their own teams, but they do it. But there were fears that they couldn't trust those people from smaller publications who were editing the series," Koziol continued.

"The bad shots that came from people like those at the Post were a problem, because then other editors didn't want to out on a limb. Let's face it, I don't if I would have if I had been in a position of a top editor. You can only take your morals and your idealism so far, then you have to say well, I've got a good job here. We never thought about that. We thought we were opening doors," Koziol added.

It didn't end there. On the day publication was to begin, the Arizona Republic ran a story saying that it would not run the series. The decision was made by Republic Publisher, Nina Pulliam and the attorneys for the newspaper.

City Editor Robert Early was stunned.

"I genuinely thought we should run the series," Early said. "I wanted to run it..if just to show support for the group effort. We tried to run the downsized AP (Associated Press) version, but then word came down that we would not even run that.

"Several stories had problems," Early continued. "One included a source who we knew was unreliable. At least two others were nothing but a rehash of stories we had done. While some of the other stories covered old ground from our vantage point, it still seemed like a good idea to run the stories. That was my recommendation," Early said.

Much of the series dealt with land fraud, an area which was not Bolles's reporting area, but that of another Republic investigative reporter, Al Sitter. The land fraud stories were essentially re-covering old ground. The attorneys for the paper were less than enthused.

William Shover, then public affairs director for the newspaper sat through the meetings with Pulliam and the attorneys.

"It was their fear that we had some potential legal problems with the series. They wanted it held. In the end, Pulliam agreed," Shover said. He was less specific about charges from the IRE that the newspaper had bowed to pressure from the state's powerful politicians.

"The attorney's said don't run it. There were other discussions, but that was the decision," Shover said.[23]

It was Shover who had stayed at Bolles's bedside throughout his ten-day ordeal. He had spelled the family members in the vigil at the hospital, which ended when Bolles died.

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[23] From personal interview with Shover by the author, Nov. 18, 1994.

Another critic of the Arizona Project was a surprise; Rosalie Bolles. As Don Bolles' wife, she had remained silent throughout the investigation. Once the series began running; she went public. Rosalie Bolles was critical of a variety of efforts which were vying for the spotlight and the possibility of reaping money from her husband's death. While she did not mention any individuals at the IRE, it was clear she was pointing the finger at the organization.

She also said that the articles should be made to stand on their own merits and not by "draping them in Don Bolles' name."[24]

What Legacy?

Shover, Koziol and Early knew Bolles quite well and wanted to see his memory honored. The IRE voted to name an award after Bolles, but never did. The organization instead named an award after Paul Williams, a founding board member, Pulitzer Prize winning reporter and faculty member at Ohio State University. Williams died in October 1976 just as the IRE investigation was getting underway.

The Arizona Republic pledged to provide a college education for Bolles' seven children and carried through with that pledge. But a broader pledge to keep his memory alive has yet to materialize, though Shover indicated he is working with Arizona State University to create a memorial display in Bolles' honor.

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[24] See especially: Wife of Bolles, Slain Reporter, Says Others Profit From His Name. New York Times (march 29, 1977), p. 12A; and Stories of Arizona Corruption are Criticized by Bolles' Widow. The Washington Post (March 29, 1977), p. A16.

Editor & Publisher, and various chapters of the Society of Professional Journalists provided funds for Bolles's children if they chose to go into the field of journalism. None did.

No lasting memorial to Don Bolles has been forthcoming by any of the nation's press organizations. Bolles is only rarely mentioned in textbooks, and only then when the Arizona Project (or Robert Greene) is the focus of the discussion.

Conclusions

Michael Wendland, in the updated 1988 epilogue to his book, The Arizona Project, reported he was dismayed that so little was accomplished through the project's journalistic effort. He pointed out, correctly, that the criminal trials and subsequent sentencing in the Bolles case took too long. He also groused that legislation approved by the Arizona Legislature had come too late to effectively deal with organized land fraud and underhanded political chicanery in the sports concession business.

Unfortunately, Wendland had fallen victim to the belief that investigative reporting is only beneficial when it creates significant social change. Wendland erroneously focused on the lack of progress in the criminal investigation in Bolles' death and the after-the-fact legislation. If he had focused on the changes which have taken place in Arizona since the investigation, he might have come to different conclusions. There is no canon of law which stipulates that good investigative reporting exists only where social change occurs. As reporters, we must strive to shine the light on impropriety, not assume that we can mandate immediate changes in the beliefs and actions of a segment of society.

As for the Arizona Project itself, it probably suffered from poorly organized communication activities, particulraly in dealing with outside influences. It is probable that the IRE and its project members could have overcome more of the criticisms if they had stayed the course and not gotten involved in petty wars over publication rights and money.

IRE has a history of working for funds. An examination of several sources, including Quill and Editor & Publisher revealed that IRE was consistent in publicizing its fundraising activities and ongoing efforts to raise further monies from its 1975 inception through the Arizona Project in 1977.[25] Robert Greene estimated the cost of the Arizona Project alone at more than $70,000, more than the average cost of an American home in the mid-1970s. The Indianapolis "faction" (as Koziol called them) focused on raising money for future projects. In the process, the organization became much more a bureaucracy than some of its founders had envisioned. It was a quest, albeit not openly, at legitimization. Ultimately, it worked.

IRE has performed honorably since the Arizona Project. But 80,000 words, even in the late 1970s was a great deal of copy for any publication to handle. The writers and editors likely would have overcome more objections to the reports if they had streamlined the entire process.

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[25] Fourteen articles appeared in the Quill and Editor & Publisher between early 1976 and late 1977 which dealt with raising funds for the organization.

Several of the nation's top newspapers didn't run the series. The New York Times, the Washington Post, the Chicago Tribune all stayed away from attempting to either edit the series down or run the Associated Press compilation (though the Times and Post did run further edited versions of several of the AP stories, they avoided the series in toto).

Regardless of the decisions to print the series, good investigative journalism shines a light into the darkest corners of society. It can not be expected to also create the system of justice that changes that society's perceptions of good and evil. The Arizona Project was worthwhile.

Somewhere in the fray, the man who was the impetus for the project got lost. Bolles never won a Pulitzer Prize, but he came closer than most reporters just by being nominated.[26] He pursued stories with the dogged determination expected of all excellent reporters. Don Bolles' life was worthwhile. Now we just need to discover some way to remember it.

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[26] Bolles was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize in the mid-1960s for a series of stories on land fraud. This is probably the source of misunderstanding about his later reporting activities.

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"The Courage to Call Things by their Right Names": Fanny Fern, Feminine Sympathy, and Feminist Journalism in the Nineteenth-Century American Popular Press

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At the close of the twentieth century, the name Fanny Fern--the pseudonym of Sara Willis Parton--is best remembered among literary historians familiar with her popular 1854 novel, *Ruth Hall.* Few media historians have paid serious attention to the considerable body of work Fern produced in 21 years of newspaper journalism. Even fewer place her among the pioneers of reform journalism, or suspect that a writer with such a pen name could have been a crusader for women's rights.

Yet in the middle decades of the nineteeth century, Fanny Fern was a celebrity whose views were widely known. From 1851 to 1872, her weekly newspaper columns held the attention of a national audience fascinated by her outspokenness, particularly her denunciations of what she felt was wrong with her society--from prison conditions to women's restrictive clothing to sanctimonious ministers.

Fern's social criticism, which centered on women's issues, placed her both inside and outside the mainstream of women's political activism in the mid-nineteenth century. In one sense, her positions on topics such as tyrannical husbands, the low pay of working women, and the sexual double standard for men and women echoed the rhetoric of the various women's moral-reform movements of the day. She agreed, for instance, with the New York Female Moral Reform Society's goal of aiding prostitutes and putting the blame for their "degradation" on their male patrons.[1] And yet Fern did not justify her beliefs in terms of religious fervor or moral superiority, as most such reformers did.

Within a decade of the 1848 Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention, Fern too was advocating women's suffrage and property rights. Yet she addressed even wider questions concerning women's social and legal status. As literary scholar Nancy Walker has noted, a century before Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*, Fern was writing about "misappreciated, unhappy womanhood, narrowed by lives made up of details."[2] Some 130 years before domestic violence was widely recognized as a serious crime in America, Fern was advising beaten and demoralized women to accuse and divorce their husbands.

Fern was probably the first popular feminist journalist in America--that is, the first journalist to regularly champion women's rights in a consumer medium with a large readership that cut across the divisions of gender and class. While other women--including Margaret Fuller and Lydia Maria Child--did pioneering and influential journalistic work during this era, they did not have as large a forum as Fern did in her weekly column that reached 400,000 readers, men as well as women, the working class as well as the upper classes. And while feminist ideas were being communicated in women's-rights publications of the day, such as the *Una* and the *Revolution*, those media reached limited audiences of primarily upper-class women.[3]

What distinguished Fern's career was the *combination* of her politics and her popularity, evidenced by her business success. Her first book-length collection of newspaper columns, *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Port Folio* (1853), sold 100,000 copies; her next two collections, issued during the following year, sold another 80,000 copies, and the three together provided her with $10,000 in royalties.[4] Her columns--for which she was also highly paid--drew hundreds of letters each week, mostly from women telling her their problems and fears: writes Fern biographer Joyce Warren, "Fern was probably closer to the 'pulse' of American womanhood than anyone else of her generation."[5]

If her commercial success is any indication, Fern was actually probably closer to the pulse of the American public, men as well as women, than most writers of her generation. And Fern's generation was a distinguished one. Among her contemporaries who did not fare as well as she in the journalistic/literary marketplace of the 1850s and '60s were Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman (for whom she was an early mentor),[6] and Nathaniel Hawthorne[7]; even Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did not initially sell as well as Fern's *Ruth Hall* did.[8]

Two keys to Fern's appeal--what accounted for her broad and continuing popularity despite her unpopular opinions--were her style and her tone. She wrote in short, often oddly-punctuated sentences, creating a pace Fern herself joking described as "pop-gun," as if she were merely transcribing a hurried conversation with a friend.[9] She wrote with tongue in cheek, employing "a black humor that was not supposed to exist in women."[10] The *tone* of her columns, however, was almost always sympathetic.

This highly personal approach to journalism, which earned her readers' devotion, has earned primarily scorn or skepticism from twentieth-century historians. In her 1936 book *Ladies of the Press* (the first history specifically of women journalists), Ishbel Ross dismissed Fern's seriousness as a newspaperwoman because of her "loud but vapid" style. Literary historian Fred Lewis Pattee, who seems not to have paid much attention to the actual content of Fern's newspaper columns, characterized their style as "goody-goody inanity." As recently as 1993, women's media historians Maurine Beasley and Sheila

Gibbons, while they acknowledged Fern's success in "enlarg[ing] women's role in society," grouped her with other mid-nineteenth-century women writers who "indulg[ed] in the sentiment of the day."[11]

One booklet and at least two scholarly articles published within the last 30 years have re-examined Fern as a feminist, though full-length biographies with such a revisionist view of Fern have appeared only within the last three years.[12] The great majority of the research on Fern that I have been able to identify, and certainly *all* of the in-depth scholarship, is written from the perspective of literary scholars. Since journalism occupied 21 years of Fern's life, while fiction writing occupied only three--and since Fern's stances as a columnist anticipated twentieth-century social reform--I believe that her newspaper work deserves serious study by journalism scholars and other historians.

To begin that research, I read nearly 500 of her columns, probably about a third of her lifetime journalistic output. I had access to many of these primary sources through mid-nineteenth-century editions of Fern's column collections--particularly the first two editions of *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Port Folio* (1853 and 1854) and *Folly As It Flies* (1868)--in the Alice Marshall Collection, a women's studies collection housed at Penn State Harrisburg in Middletown, Pennsylvania.

The variety of subject matter Fern covered in these columns, the seriousness of those subjects, and the conviction with which Fern wrote have led me to question the trivialization Fern's work has received. Furthermore, the feminist messages in her columns, along with her clear popularity, make me wonder just how many American women of her day fully subscribed to what historian Barbara Welter has called the prevailing "cult of True Womanhood"--a mid-nineteenth-century value system in which the ideal woman lived a life of "piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity" within the walls of her home.[13] Indeed, when such a belief was mentioned to Fanny Fern in 1858, she gave her opinion with a characteristic, one-word start to her column: "Fudge."[14]

How "Fanny Fern" came to be

It is hard to fully understand the political and social causes Fanny Fern championed in her newspaper columns--or even to understand why she became a writer--without a brief knowledge of her background.[15] She was born Sara Willis in 1811, the fifth of nine children of a stern, undemonstrative Presbyterian deacon who worked as a printer and publisher of a Christian children's magazine.[16] After the family's move from Maine to Boston, Sara and her sisters were sent to boarding schools, including Catharine Beecher's Hartford Female Seminary. Though her own later view of women's place in society would differ greatly from that of her headmistress, as a teenager Sara received affection and support from Catharine Beecher[17]; she also began a lifelong friendship with Beecher's younger sister Harriet, who was Sara's age and one of her classmates.[18] While Sara was studying in Hartford, her older brother Nathaniel Parker ("N. P.") Willis was making a name as a poet and editor in the New York publishing world.

In 1837, when she was twenty-six, Sara married Charles Eldredge, a young bank clerk with whom she lived happily until his death of typhoid fever nine years later. Sara's relations with her in-laws disintegrated after Charles' death, and they offered no financial support for the 35-year-old widow and her two daughters; neither did Sara's own family. Sara and her daughters moved into a Boston boardinghouse, where she took in sewing.

This tedious and poorly-paying work--she earned, at most, 75 cents a week--gave her, as Joyce Warren notes, "a lifelong sympathy with working women" that she would later voice in her columns. In 1849 she acquiesed to a match, made by her father, with Samuel Farrington, a Boston businessman. After two years of his verbal abuse, she left him; in another two years, during which Farrington widely slandered Sara, he divorced her.

Again in the position of having to support her daughters, Sara tried another route, writing. She immediately made a sale--a humorous essay she had written on the subject of "model husbands"--to the editor of the Boston-based *Olive Branch*, a religious newspaper with a progressive bent that, despite its small circulation, was read throughout the eastern states. She was paid 50 cents. She sent other essays to her brother N. P., who was by then editing a magazine in New York, but he dismissed them as amateurish and told her she was "on a mistaken track."

Sara continued to contribute essays to the *Olive Branch*, writing as "Clara," "Tabitha," and, finally, "Fanny Fern." Most women writers of the day used pseudonyms (and "flowery" pen names were especially common[19]), but Sara had two additional incentives: the scandal of her divorce, and her family's expressed disapproval of her writing. A pseudonym would hide her activity (and income) from all of them; what's more, she would be able to publish under a name that would not connect her to either her abusive second husband or her first husband's hostile parents. Sara was so glad to have a new identity that she began to use it in all her dealings with new people, professionally and socially; later in her life she would legally change her name to Fanny Fern.

Three bestsellers–and an act of spite

By early 1852 Fern (as I will call her hereafter) was contributing to both the *Olive Branch* and another Boston-based newspaper, the *True Flag*, earning two dollars a column and producing three columns a week. During the fall of 1852, she briefly wrote on an exclusive basis for the New York *Musical World and Times* (despite its title, a general-interest publication), but by winter she had resumed her work for the Boston papers.[20] Her columns assumed a format that, notes Nancy Walker, "would vary little during her career: a brief story or monologue that illustrate[d] a moral, ethical, or social point."[21]

Ironically, Fern very quickly acquired a wide national audience--and reputation--because of a practice that hurt her financially: the absence of enforceable copyright law in the mid-nineteenth century. Her articles were freely "copied" in newspapers all across the country. Her identity was also becoming a matter of considerable speculation.[22]

In 1853, two years into her writing career, Fern accepted a book publisher's offer to issue a collection of her columns. It was called *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Port Folio*, and within one year it sold nearly 100,000 copies in the United States and Great Britain.[23] The first volume was followed by a second, and then by a work of fiction. During 1854, in just nine months, she produced *Ruth Hall*, a thinly-veiled autobiographical novel written in sentimental language and yet harboring a feminist theme: Ruth Hall learns that she cannot depend on men, but rather must look out for herself and earn her own living.

Like Fern's column collections, *Ruth Hall* was a popular success, selling more than 50,000 copies within eight months of its publication, but it was not well received critically. Dozens of reviews castigated Fern for being unfeminine and irreverent in her choice of story line (that of a woman done wrong by a succession of self-important men). One of the few reviewers to praise the novel was Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who, writing in the feminist newspaper *Una*, was pleased with the book's message "that God has given to woman sufficient brain and muscle to work out her own destiny unaided and alone."[24]

What might have been a death blow to Fern's career was delivered the year after the publication of *Ruth Hall*. William Moulton, the editor of the Boston *True Flag*, who was angry because Fern had stopped writing for him, anonymously published a book called *The Life and Beauties of Fanny Fern* in 1855.[25] Purportedly an official biography of Fern, *The Life and Beauties* not only personally and professionally slandered Fern--implying that as a divorcée she had loose morals, and stating quite clearly that she had little talent and did not meet deadlines--but also revealed her real name. The final insult was that more than three-quarters of the book consisted of reprints of columns Fern had written for the Boston newspapers, each with a short, sarcastic introduction by Moulton; thus, he profited from her work while causing her pain and embarrassment.

Celebrity columnist of the *New York Ledger*

Nevertheless, Moulton's *Life and Beauties* served to increase Fern's already considerable fame. At the same time her star was rising, so was the ambition of Robert Bonner, the new publisher and editor of the weekly *New York Ledger*. Frank Luther Mott described the *Ledger* as typical of the many mid-century "popular Saturday and Sunday miscellanies [that] were more like magazines in content than like newspapers; they flourished upon stories, moral essays, and verse, with some admixture of travel sketches, science, art, and a few woodcuts." But Bonner's paper was unusual in its pioneering use of the signed weekly column, thus according the columnist the status of "highly-paid celebrity."[26]

The first writer on whom Bonner bestowed such an honor was Fanny Fern, though she was probably already a bona fide American celebrity.[27] His 1855 offer to pay her $100 per column--not per article, but per *column* of type--was unprecedented. The offer was a one-shot deal, and it was for a piece of fiction rather than journalistic writing (the resulting story, "Fanny Ford," ran serially in the Ledger throughout June of 1855 and totalled 10 columns of type; Fern was paid $1,000). But Bonner immediately followed this highly-publicized coup with an offer of an exclusive contract to write a weekly opinion column in the *Ledger* at $25 a week.[28] Fern accepted the offer and moved to New York. Bonner announced his acquisition by buying a full page of advertising space in a rival paper, the *New York Herald*, filled with type repeating one sentence: "Fanny Fern writes only for the *Ledger*."[29] Fern's column ran in the *Ledger* every single week from January of 1856 until her death in October of 1872.

Fern was the first of a long list of "name" conquests Bonner would make, and her record-setting fee was soon eclipsed by what he paid other writers for their services. Alfred, Lord Tennyson received $5,000 for one poem, while Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and John Greenleaf Whittier were paid, respectively, $3,000 and $1,000 per poem. Charles Dickens received $5,000 for one short story; the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher was paid $30,000 for his novel *Norwood*. Other well-known writers who contributed to the newspaper included William Cullen Bryant, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Louisa May Alcott, Horace Greeley, Alice and Phoebe Cary, Edward Everett, E. D. E. N. Southworth, Lydia Sigourney, and James Gordon Bennett.[30]

Such famous bylines were no doubt one reason for the *Ledger's* financial success, but like many urban newspapers of the time it also benefitted from several consequences of American industrialization: urbanization, the growth of the middle class, and the increasingly common phenomenon of leisure time. The paper's circulation was soon the highest of any newspaper in the country, climbing steadily during the late 1850s and 1860s to a peak of 400,000--a figure Mott called "stupendous for that day." Among the new readers was a steadily growing proportion of women for whom, as Florence Bannard Adams notes, "the Bible and the newspapers were . . . daily food."[31]

This new female market increased the power and visibility of Bonner's female contributors, especially Fern.[32] A certainty that she was being read by large numbers of women surely accounted for the voice and subject matter Fern chose for her columns. Though she had already developed a signature style characterized by outspokenness and humor, Fern perfected her craft in the pages of the *Ledger*. She began to pattern her columns in one of two ways: using a quote or maxim as a springboard for her commentary, or responding to a news item--both devices that "prefigure[d] the characteristics of twentieth-century newspaper and magazine columnists."[33] And more and more, she tackled serious or unpopular subjects.

Fern no longer worried about what people would think of her views. She had survived Moulton's attack with her readership and her paycheck intact; she and her daughters also had a much happier home life by 1856, the year Fern married James

Parton, a journalist and biographer eleven years her junior who was supportive of her work. And she felt called to continue her brand of journalism by the hundreds of women who wrote to her every week, to plead, to complain, and to commiserate.

While Fern's topics were many and varied during her 21-year *Ledger* career, the exerpts below offer a representative sample of the most important aspects of Fern's journalism: her primary subject matter, the rights of women and other disadvantaged people; her often radical viewpoints; and the unique style and tone that enabled her to maintain her wide popularity despite her outspokenness.

On "women's sphere"

In several of her columns, Fern categorically dismissed "the old cry of 'a woman's sphere being home,'" noting in 1867 that such an opinion was one "you hear oftenest from men whose home is only a place to feed and sleep in."[34] A year later she maintained that most women of her day led

> . . . lives of unbroken monotony, and have much more need of exhilarating influences than men, whose life is out of doors in the breathing, active world. Don't tell me of shoemakers at their lasts, and tailors at their needles. Do either ever have to lay down their customers' coats and shoes fifty times a day, and wonder when the day is over why their work is *not* done, though they have struggled through fire and water to finish it? . . . Do not their customers talk their beloved politics to them while they stitch, and do not their "confreres" run for a bottle of ale and crack merry jokes with them as their work progresses?[35]

Fern believed that, for the sake of their mental and physical health, women should get *out* of their homes, literally (through exercise) and figuratively (through mental stimulation), if not also through paid work (discussed in the next section). She encouraged women to read widely and to *write*, in diaries or otherwise, for psychological release and self-expression, insisting that it was not "safe" for women "to shut down so much that cries out for sympathy and expression."[36] She praised mothers who "early cultivate[d] a taste for reading in their *daughters*" so that they might become "dignified" and "independent of . . . vacuity."[37]

Similarly, she encouraged women to live healthy lives free of unnatural physical restraints. She crusaded against restrictive women's clothing and against what she termed the "fashionable invalidism" of the day: "I hope to live to see the time when [women] consider it a *disgrace* to be sick," she wrote in the 1860s. She blamed most women's health problems on a combination of clothing, lifestyle, and vanity: ". . . a woman who laces so tightly that she breathes only by a rare accident; . . . who has ball-robes and jewels in plenty, but who owns neither an umbrella, nor a water-proof cloak, nor a pair of thick boots; who . . . never exercises and complains of 'total want of appetite,' . . . is simply a disgusting nuisance." As for herself, Fern confessed, "I walk, not ride, I own stout boots [and] a water-proof cloak, and no diamonds. I like a nice bit of beefsteak and a glass of ale, and anybody else who wants it may eat pap."[38]

Fern felt that women should be allowed to wear men's clothing, as both she and her eldest daughter, Grace, sometimes did.[39] Her chief reasons for this belief were health and comfort: ". . . they who choose may crook their backs . . . for fashion, and then send for the doctor to straighten them," she wrote in 1858. "I've as good a right to preserve the healthy body God gave me, as if I were not a woman." But she realized that women could find freedom beyond mere comfort in men's apparel: "Think of the old maids (and weep) who have to stay at home evening after evening, when, if they provided themselves with a coat, pants and hat, they might go abroad, instead of sitting there with their noses flattened against the window-pane, looking vainly for 'the Coming Man.'"[40]

Fern's ideal of American womanhood was not a domestic goddess, but rather what she called "the Coming Woman": "a bright-eyed, full-chested, broad-shouldered, large-souled, intellectual being; able to walk, able to eat, able to fulfill her maternal destiny [or equally able] to go to her grave happy, self-poised, and serene, though unwedded."[41]

On women and work – in and out of the home

As newspaper audiences grew, so too did the diversity of women within them. Fern's column was read not just by upper-class "literary ladies" but also by "run-of-the-mill housewives and working women."[42] She addressed all three groups in the many columns she devoted to the subject of women and work.

Remembering her own experience, she wrote of the economic necessity that forced many women to work, chiding those who faulted such women for trying to earn a living--especially if they *succeeded*. "No matter how isolated or destitute [a woman's] condition," she wrote, "the majority would consider it more 'feminine,' would she unobtrusively gather up her thimble, and, retiring into some out-of-the-way place, gradually scoop out her coffin with it, than to develop [a] smart turn for business."[43]

But she defended the working rights of *any* woman, even one whose husband or father could support her. No profession should be closed to a woman with the talent and inclination to try it, Fern felt. Such a woman "feels well and independent in consequence [of working], and holds up her head with the best, and asks no favors."[44] In a column on women lecturers, she wrote:

> . . . if she can draw an audience, why shouldn't she fill her pocket? Is it less commendable than marrying somebody--anybody--for the sake of being supported, and finding out too late, as many women do, that it is the toughest possible way of getting a living? . . . . At least, she circulates about in the fresh air, among fresh people, makes many acquaintances, and let us hope, some friends; instead of knawing the bone of monotony all her colorless life . . . .
>
> If conservatism is shocked to hear a woman speak in public, let conservatism stay away . . . . May a good Providence multiply female lecturers, female sculptors, female artists of every sort, female authors, female astonomers, female book-keepers . . . .[45]

Fern devoted several columns to the lot of "working girls" at the mercy of upper-class employers. She not only sympathized with these women's problems, but also addressed her wealthier readers, implying or stating outright that they ought to be concerned--and that in some cases wealthier women were *responsible* for the unhappiness of their poorer sisters. At a time when books advised middle- and upper-class women on how to deal with "the servant problem," Fern wrote:

> I am not sure my sympathies are not enlisted much more on the side of servants than of their mistresses, who at any moment can show them the door at their capricious will without a passport to any other place of shelter. Their lot is often at best a hard one . . . .
>
> I wish mistresses would sometimes ask themselves how long . . . *they* could render faithful, conscientious labor? Feeling that doing well, there was no word of praise; and that doing ill, there was no excuse or palliation; that falling sick or disabled, from overwork or natural causes, there was no sympathy, but only nervous anxiety for a speedy substitute.[46]

To readers who might say such concerns were none of her business, Fern wrote, "Make it yours, then: for a woman's heart beats in your kitchen, --over your wash-tub, --over your ironing-table, --down in your cellar, --up in your garret. A kind word is such a little thing to you--so much to her. *Your* cup is so full to overflowing, --*hers* often so empty . . . ."[47]

Fern wrote of the indignities also suffered by women working in seemingly more prestigious jobs. Private teachers had more in common with domestic servants than with their students' mothers, constantly "trembling lest by some unintentional oversight of theirs they lose the approbation of employers, and with it their means of subsistence." She expressed her disgust at the male shop owner who, in the presence of customers, bullies his young female clerks and then "turns, with a sweet smile and dulcet voice, to yourself, and inquires, 'what else he can have the pleasure of showing you?' You are tempted to reply, 'Sir, I would like you to show me that you can respect womanhood, although it may not be hedged about with fine raiment."[48]

Fern was ahead of her time in identifying certain issues of concern to working women. One was sexual harassment. Addressing a hypothetical hotel waitress faced with a "coxcomb who considers it necessary to preface his request for an omelette, with '*My dear,*'" Fern suggested she "annoint him with a 'HASTY plate of soup.'" Another such issue was equal pay. In one column, she demanded that "the practice [be] amended by which a female clerk, who performs her duty equally well with a male clerk, receives less salary, simply because she is a woman."[49]

Fern felt that women who worked at home were entitled to the same respect, and the same access to money, as women who worked in paid positions. In an 1869 column, she expressed the "digust with which I am nauseated, at the idea of any decent, intelligent, self-respecting, capable wife, ever being obliged *to ask* for that which she so laboriously earns, and which is just as much hers by right, as the money that her husband receives from his customers is *his*."[50]

Complaining that "matrimony [is] a one-sided partnership," Fern wrote of the exhausting work load of middle- and lower-class housewives, calling the results of that load "legal murder."[51] This passage illustrates Fern's radical position on housework and the care of large families, and it reads like an editorial that might have been written in the 1960s rather than the 1860s:

> There are self-sacrificing mothers who need somebody to say to them, "Stop! you have just to make your choice now, between death and life. You have expended all the strength you have on hand--and must lay in a new stock before any more work can be done by you."
>
> . . . let me tell you that if you think you are doing God service, or anybody else, by using up a year's strength in a week, you have made a sinful mistake . . . . when you are dead, all the king's men can't make you stand on your feet again, that's plain. Well, then--don't be dead. In the first place, go out a part of every day, rain or shine, for the fresh air, and don't tell me you can't; at least not while you can stop to embroider your children's clothes. As to "dressing to go out," don't dress. If you are clean and whole that's enough . . . . The moral of all which is, that if nobody else will take care of you, you must take care of yourself.[52]

On women's suffrage and political (in)equality

"I am often asked the question, 'Do I believe that women should vote?'" began one Fanny Fern column during the 1860s. "Most assuredly," she answered. She dismissed petty objections to suffrage, such as the fear that women would be "thrown into rowdy company of both sexes" at polling booths. (This concern, Fern noted, never occurred to the man who expected his wife "to explore all sorts of localities in search of articles needed for family consumption.") With regard to women who opposed suffrage, she wrote--in a column that linked economic well-being to political rights--"I feel only pity, that, torpidly and selfishly content with her ribbons and dresses, [a woman] may never see or think of those other women who may be lifted out of their wretched condition of low wages and starvation, by this very lever of power."[53]

Lack of the vote was only one of many legal problems women faced, in Fern's view. In an 1859 Fourth of July column, Fern confessed that she didn't feel patriotic: "I'm glad we are all free; but as a woman--I shouldn't know it, didn't some orator tell me . . . . Can I cross Broadway without having a policeman tackled [*sic*] to my elbow? . . . . Can I be a Senator, that I may hurry up that millenial International Copyright Law?[54] Can I *even* be President? Bah--you know I can't. '*Free!*'"[55]

Fern was particularly outspoken on women's legal rights within, and after, marriage--an issue on which her views were surely informed by personal experience. She wrote of husbands who were physically abusive, but she also acknowledged the damage done by emotional abuse, even in the "best" marriages: "That the better educated husband murders with sharp words instead of sharp blows, makes it none the less murder." After seeing a newspaper notice placed by a husband whose wife had left him--in which the husband wrote, "if you will come [home] now, I will forgive you . . . if not, I shall attend to your case without delay"--Fern penned advice to the wife: ". . . don't allow yourself to be badgered or frightened into anything. None but a coward ever threatens a woman . . . . tell him you are ready for him."[56] Fern believed that women in bad marriages should get out, not suffer nobly. The opinion she expressed in an 1857 column was radical not only then, but for a century afterward:

> . . . there are aggravated cases for which the law provides no remedy--from which it affords no protection; and that hundreds of suffering women beat their chains because they have no courage to face a scandal-loving world . . . is no proof to the contrary of what I assert. What I say is this: in such cases, let a woman who *has the self-sustaining power* quietly take her fate in her own hands, and right herself. Of course she will be misjudged and abused. *It is for her to choose whether she can better bear this at hands from which she has a rightful claim for love and protection, or from a nine-days-wonder-loving public.* These are bold words; but they are needed words--words whose full import I have well considered, and from the responsibility of which I do not shrink.[57]

On the ills of poverty and "mistaken" philanthropy

Fern frequently wrote about women and children in her columns, usually lamenting their dependence on the whims of men. Similarly, she devoted a number of columns to how wealthy New Yorkers viewed and treated the poor. In one column she criticized "the unwisdom of philanthropists who make virtue so unsmiling . . . . who stop to bind up and pour oil into the wounds of the suffering." In another, she gave satirical advice to the upper-class man confronted by one in need: ". . . put on the most stoical, 'get thee behind me expression' you can muster . . . . button your coat up tighter over your pocket-book and give him a piece of -- good advice . . . . 'wish him well,' and turn your back upon him . . . ."[58]

Such treatment, Fern believed, had consequences for which the wealthy (and others who ministered to the poor) had to accept part of the blame. In a column sympathizing with a prostitute, Fern speculated that "They who make long prayers, and wrap themselves up in self-righteousness, as with a garment, turned a deaf ear, as she plead [*sic*] for the bread of honest toil."[59] After an 1858 visit to a New York City prison, she wondered of its inmates "How many times when their stomachs have been empty, some full-fed, whining disciple has presented them with a Bible or a Tract, saying, 'Be ye warmed and filled.'" Following her visit to a poor neighborhood, she described the squalor of poverty--and then questioned the priorities of a "democracy" divided, in 1864, by class as well as war:

> It was a warm day; there were slaughter-houses, with pools of blood in front, round which gambolled pigs and children; there were piles of garbage in the middle of the street . . . emitting the most beastly odors. Uncombed, unwashed girls, and ragged, fighting lads swarmed on every door step, and emerged from narrow, slimy alleys. Weary, worn-looking mothers administered hasty but well-aimed slaps at draggled, neglected children, while fathers smoked, drank, and swore . . . .
>
> *It was a little piece of hell.* I grew sick, physically and mentally, as I staggered, rather than walked along . . . .
>
> There must be horrible blame somewhere for such a state of things on this beautiful island . . . . Alas! if some of the money spent on corporation-dinners, on Fourth of July fireworks, and on public balls, where rivers of champagne are worse than wasted, were laid aside for the cleanliness and purification of these terrible localities which slay more victims than the war is doing, and whom nobody thinks of numbering.[60]

"The courage to call things by their right names"

A survey of Fanny Fern's newspaper columns reveals a writer who was not a feminine sentimentalist (as so many women writers of the mid-nineteenth-century are classified), but a plain-spoken feminist, and a serious journalist. "At a time when a strident individualism was the identifying characteristic of white male Americans, and women were praised for their dependency and selfless passivity, Fanny Fern advocated and practiced--both in her life and in her writing--individualism for women," notes Joyce Warren.[61] By any standards, Fern was an original--and an influential voice in both journalism and literary circles of her day. A rival newspaperwoman wrote of Fern in 1872, "She sails with all her canvas spread, by a chart of her own." An 1870 biographical sketch was equally admiring of Fern's individualism: "She dips her pen in her heart, and writes out her own feelings . . . . She dares to be original. She has no fear of critics or of the public before her eyes. She conquers a peace with them by sheer force of audacity."[62]

Why has such a pioneering and distinctive voice been largely ignored by historians for a century?[63] Fern's feminist beliefs--unpalatable to many scholars not just in the nineteenth century, but, as Joyce Warren has noted, for many decades afterward--are one possible answer. Another is the "black humor" and "pop-gun" writing style that critics, then and now, so rarely seem to accept in a woman writer. Philip Gura believes it was Fern's financial success that, for so long, put off critics who defined "notable" writers in the mid-nineteenth century in terms of their struggle--"opt[ing] instead for such writers as Poe and Melville, whose very lack of success in the marketplace seemed to confer worth on their literature."[64]

A related reason may be the fact that Fern's success occurred in the mainstream and thus was more "lowbrow" than "highbrow," to borrow Lawrence Levine's terms. Fern was popular in the literal sense: her work was for ordinary people, and her most dedicated supporters were ordinary women. Noting that few among Fern's fans were "literary Brahmins," Joyce Warren asks, "Who among her supporters--the factory women, the shopgirls, the overworked farm wives, the tired mothers--had the knowledge or the time . . . to ensure that her works were printed and reprinted, to bring her . . . message to succeeding generations?"[65]

Given these possibilities, however, the absence of Fern from so many works of American women's history[66] is especially curious. I would suggest that she has been not necessarily undiscovered, but rather omitted--because she does not easily "fit in" with our knowledge of other well-known women reformers of her day. Her *positions* fit in: in addition to her ongoing support for women's suffrage, Fern's published opinions coincided with those of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone on women's legal rights within marriage; those of Susan B. Anthony on prostitution and domestic abuse; those of Sarah Grimké and Emma Willard on women's education; those of Victoria Woodhull on women in business; and those of Woodhull's sister, Tennessee Claflin, on women's clothing.[67] Yet Fern's informal language, her preference for anecdote over sermon, her exclamations, and her frequent use of humor separate her treatment of such issues from the more earnest writings of other activists--and from what feminist scholars have traditionally considered *serious* reform advocacy. It seems possible, therefore, that Fern's career has simply been sidestepped by researchers who don't know quite what to make of her.[68]

Whatever the cause of her neglect, Fern's relatively recent reappearance in the world of literary scholarship informs modern understanding of mid-nineteenth-century fiction, and she is due for serious attention from modern-day journalism scholars as well. Fern anticipated the topics and style of twentieth-century editorial writing in her columns; she pioneered the business-world concept that women journalists could be not just well read, but also well paid; and she brought clarity, passion, and personality to the developing craft of newspaper journalism. Like the title character of her novel *Ruth Hall*, Fanny Fern "had the courage to call things by their right names, and the independence to express herself boldly."[69] If only for that reason, she is worth a second look by journalists entering the twenty-first century.

NOTES

[1] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast and the Militant Woman: A Case Study in Sex Roles and Social Stress in Jacksonian America," *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford UP, 1985), 109-128. Smith-Rosenberg describes the philosophies and activities of this group as essentially feminist and radical. Despite the clear parallels between the Society's goals and Fern's columns, however--and despite the fact that Fern was publishing her articles in New York City during the 1850s, when the Society was in existence--Smith-Rosenberg does not mention Fern, though she does link the Society's work with that of other feminists of the day.

[2] Nancy A. Walker, *Fanny Fern* (New York: Twayne, 1993); Fanny Fern, *Folly As It Flies* (New York: G. W. Carleton & Co., 1868), The Alice Marshall Collection, Penn State Harrisburg (Middletown, Pa.), 64.

[3] Maurine H. Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, *Taking their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (Washington: American UP, 1993), 81; Linda Kerber and Jane Sherron De Hart, *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford UP, 1991), 98.

[4] Joyce W. Warren, *Fanny Fern: An Independent Woman* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers UP, 1992), 117; Joseph P. McKerns, *Biographical Dictionary of American Journalism* (New York: Greenwood, 1989), 545. During her 21-year newspaper career, Fern published six collections of her columns: *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Port Folio* (1853), *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio* [sic], *Second Series* (1854), *Fresh Leaves* (1857), *Folly as It Flies* (1868), *Ginger-Snaps* (1870), and *Caper-Sauce* (1872). She also published three children's books, *Little Fern's for Fanny's Little Friends* (1853), *The Play-Day Book* (1857), and *The New Story Book for Children* (1864); and two novels, *Ruth Hall* (1854) and *Rose Clark* (1856).

[5] Warren, 259.

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[6] Both Warren and David Reynolds, in *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville* (New York: Knopf, 1988), suggest that the title and cover design of Whitman's first edition of *Leaves of Grass* (1855) were imitations of Fern's first book, *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Port Folio*, published two years earlier.

[7] Perhaps Fern's commercial success is one reason Hawthorne complained, in an 1855 letter to his publisher, that "America is now wholly given over to a damned mob of scribbling women, and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash . . . ." In a subsequent letter to his publisher, however, Hawthorne wrote that he had read *Ruth Hall* and "enjoyed it a good deal," and that he wished Fanny Fern might know "how much I admire her." These seemingly contradictory letters were dated, respectively, Jan. 19 and Feb. 2, 1855 and are reprinted in Thomas Woodson, et. al., eds., *Nathaniel Hawthorne: The Letters, 1853-1856*, Centenary ed., vol. XVII (Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1987), 303-04, 307-08.

[8] The sales of *Ruth Hall* totalled 46,000 in its first four months, higher than those of *any* other American book up to that time (Warren, 109). In its advertising of the novel, Fern's publisher compared her talent and the nature of her work to that of both Stowe and Dickens (Warren, 124), another writer whose popularity Fern matched.

[9] Fanny Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, ed. Joyce Warren (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers UP, 1986), 291. While at the time Fern's frequent use of dashes and other unconventional punctuation was often dismissed as immature, David Reynolds compares this technique to Emily Dickinson's use of the "imagistic fragment," which also was trivialized by contemporary male critics. "Today," he notes, "we can understand such apparent flaws as products of an antebellum author brandishing her imaginative powers in an effort to subvert the stylistic rigidities of the past" (34).

[10] Warren, 100.

[11] Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press* (New York: Harper, 1936), 40; Fred Lewis Pattee, *The Feminine Fifties* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940), 118; Beasley and Gibbons, 87. Both Pattee and Ross seem to have accepted the factual accuracy of William Moulton's *Life and Beauties of Fanny Fern*, the unauthorized biography of Fern discussed elsewhere in this paper. Nancy Walker confirms that this work's "status remained largely undisputed for many years."

[12] The booklet is Florence Bannard Adams' *Fanny Fern, or a Pair of Flaming Shoes* (West Trenton, N. J.: Hermitage Press, 1966), contained in the Alice Marshall Collection. The articles are Lauren Berlant's "The Female Woman: Fanny Fern and the Form of Sentiment," *American Literary History* 3 (1991): 429-54, and Ann Douglas Wood's "The 'Scribbling Women' and Fanny Fern: Why Women Wrote," *American Quarterly* 23 (spring

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1971): 3-24. Both Joyce Warren's 1992 book and Nancy Walker's 1993 book are revisionist views of Fern's life and work, though Warren's is the more complete biography.

[13] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151-74. Welter studied this phenomenon by reading women's magazines and advice manuals of the day, and she mentions several of Fern's contemporaries who *did* support the "cult" status of conventional femininity, including Sarah Josepha Hale and Lydia Sigourney.

[14] Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 308.

[15] Except where specifically noted, this autobiographical information is confirmed in several sources, including Warren; Walker; Adams; Beasley and Gibbons, 87-89; McKerns, 544-45; Edward T. James, ed., *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1971), 24-25; S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*, vol. II (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1870), 1520; and Grace Greenwood, "Fanny Fern--Mrs. Parton," *Eminent Women of the Age*, ed. James Parton (Hartford: S. M. Betts & Co., 1872). I used editions of the latter two sources contained in the Alice Marshall Collection.

[16] If one believes that *Ruth Hall* was autobiographical, as considerable evidence indicates it was, then Fern's mother was largely a passive character in the family, a woman who loved her children but tolerated her husband's verbal abuse and went along with his wishes. After her mother's death, however, Fern gave her credit for having played a more important role, writing to a friend that "all the capability for writing which I possess . . . . came from her. She had correspondence with many clergymen of the time and others, and, had she lived at this day, would have been a writer worthy of mention" (Greenwood, 67).

[17] Unlike Fern and other female reformers of her time, Catharine Beecher approved of and promoted the idea of a separate "women's sphere," a world of domesticity and moral instruction in which, Beecher believed, American women could gain and exercise power within a rapidly-changing nineteenth-century society. For more on her life and beliefs, see Beecher's *Treatise on Domestic Economy*, rev. 3rd ed. (New York: Harper, 1847) and a biography by Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale UP, 1973).

[18] The lives of Fern and Stowe contained many parallels: they were the same age; their formative years were dominated by religious relatives and by the Hartford Female Seminary experience; both had children who died young; they received their first national recognition as writers in the same year, 1852, both quickly achieving international popularity; and both were chided by male critics--at the time and ever since--for their personal, confidential style of writing. Their continuing mutual admiration offers an interesting parallel to Hawthorne's, and later Whitman's, dismissal of Fern and writers like her. In an 1853 column, Fern publicly commiserated with Stowe on the critical

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reception of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, wryly pointing out to her friend that the reviewers "protest your book shows no genius, which fact is unfortunately corroborated by the difficulty your publishers find in disposing of it; they are transported with rage in proportion as *you* are *translated*" (*Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 256).

[19] Beasley and Gibbons, 87. Other mid-nineteenth-century women writers with "floral" psuedonyms included Grace Greenwood (a serious journalist, whose real name was Sara Clarke Lippincott, cited elsewhere in this paper), Fanny Forrester, Minnie Myrtle, Essie Evergreen, and Lottie Laurel (Warren, 330*n*24). Joyce Warren believes that Sara's choice of this particular type of pseudonym, and her decision to keep it as her career progressed, was made "partly as a spoof" of the practice: "certainly, for readers of her generation, to see her satirical staccato prose over such a signature would have been humorous because of its incongruity" (102).

[20] Fern's brief employment with the *Musical World and Times* is significant, however, in that it makes her the "first woman newspaper columnist" in America, according to several histories, including two works by Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History, 1690-1960*, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1962) and *A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865*, vol. II (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1957). Because the *Musical World and Times* paid her a salary, rather than on a piece-by-piece basis, she was actually *employed* to write her opinion--the modern definition of a "columnist." The Boston papers were forced to follow suit and offer her salary commitments as well.

[21] Walker, 31.

[22] Warren, 92, 101-02, 330*n*22. Some readers guessed "Fanny Fern" was Harriet Beecher Stowe; others suspected the real author was Fern's own brother N. P.

[23] Sales figures for *Fern Leaves* and *Ruth Hall*, in this and the next paragraph, are from Allibone, 1520. Emily Dickinson liked the book so much that she read it aloud to her family (Reynolds, 33).

[24] Warren, 140.

[25] Warren, Walker, and Adams all attribute *The Life and Beauties of Fanny Fern* (New York: H. Long & Brother, 1855) to William Moulton, though it was published without a byline and never reissued after its authorship was discovered. The edition I read is contained in the Alice Marshall Collection.

[26] Mott, *American Journalism*, 319; Walker, 25.

[27] The word "celebrity" perhaps falls short in describing the impression Fanny Fern made on Americans in the 1850s and '60s. Her name became so widely known that it was used to promote merchandise completely unrelated to her work or life. A train conductor wrote to tell her that he had seen a Pullman car named after her (Warren, 286); there was also Fanny Fern Tobacco, particularly ironic in light of the many anti-smoking columns

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she wrote (Walker, 101). In this sense, Fern's popularity resembled that of Swedish soprano Jenny Lind, whose two American tours in the early 1850s had inspired Jenny Lind cigars, Jenny Lind carriages, and Jenny Lind clothing. (Lind's tours are described in Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergency of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1988), 96-100, and Ernest Morrison, "The Pure Woman and the Great Singer," *Apprise* (June 1988): 66.) Fern's fame extended to her fictional characters, as well: her heroine Ruth Hall inspired not only Ruth Hall clothing, but also "The Ruth Hall Schottische," a song written in 1855 by the famous French conductor Louis Antoine Jullien and "dedicated to Fanny Fern" (Warren, 124).

[28] Since Joyce Warren's biography of Fern is the most in-depth and recent treatment of the subject, I am using her information on the rate for Fern's weekly column, as opposed to the much-publicized "$100-a-column" price she received for "Fanny Ford"; it also simply seems more likely. Other biographical treatments of Fern, however--including the brief mention of her in Mott's *American Journalism: A History* (319)--maintain that she continued to be paid $100 a week for every column she wrote for the rest of her life.

[29] Walker, 99.

[30] These bylines and prices are gathered from several sources, including Warren, 147-48; Adams, 12; Walker, 25; Mott (*History of American Magazines*), 358, 361; and Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1872* (New York: Harper, 1873), 650-51.

[31] Mott, *American Journalism*, 319; Adams, 16.

[32] The phenomenon of "lady writers"--reflected in the pages of the *Ledger* by famous names including those of Fern, Stowe, Alcott, and Sigourney--was evident throughout the publishing industry, though an article in the July 1854 issue of *Putnam's Monthly* assigned credit (or blame) to Fern and Stowe: "A most alarming avalanche of female authors has been pouring into upon us for the past three months. The success of Uncle Tom and Fanny Fern has been the cause, doubtless" (Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 170).

[33] Walker, 35-36.

[34] Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 344.

[35] Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 308.

[36] Fern, *Folly As It Flies*, 62. Fern further attempted to encourage women to write by arguing that women, by their nature, are better writers than men. Curiously, in making her case, she was also defending her own style of journalism: women, she wrote, "are not above narrating the *little* things which bring up a person or a scene more vividly to the mind than anything else. They write *naturally*, as they talk; while a man takes his

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pen too often in the mood in which he would mount a platform to address his 'fellow-citizens,' using big words, and stiltified language" (*Folly*, 320).

[37] Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 322.

[38] Fern, *Folly*, 85-87. Fern's standards for health and education applied to men as well as women. The ideal husband and father, Fern wrote, was one with "a constitution and principles as sound as those he so properly requires in the wife of his choice and the mother of his children; and I confess myself unable to see why this should be more necessary in the case of one parent than in that of the other" (*Folly*, 268).

[39] Warren, 183.

[40] Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 300-04. More shocking, Fern suggested that men's clothing might give women a passport to entertainment and education otherwise denied them: attired in pants, a loose coat, and a hat, a woman could "pick up contraband bits of science in a Medical Museum, forbidden to crinoline, and hold conversations with intelligent men, who supposing you to be a man, consequently talk sense to you"; she might even "taste that nice lager beer 'on draught.'"

[41] Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 310.

[42] Adams, 19.

[43] Fern, *Folly*, 321.

[44] Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 361.

[45] Fern, *Folly*, 210-12. Though Fern herself did not lecture, she defended those women who did and pointed out the double standards often applied to them. In one column, for instance, she wondered "why reporters, in making mention of lady speakers, always consider it to be necessary to report, fully and *firstly*, the dresses worn by them?" (*Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 369-70).

[46] Fern, *Folly*, 112, 116.

[47] Fern, *Folly*, 323-24. In this and other quotes I have followed Fern's punctuation, much of which is, by today's standards, grammatically incorrect. But since punctuation and typographical style seem to have been part of Fern's message (see footnote 9, above), I have not edited her quotes, nor have I changed her frequent use of italics.

[48] Fern, *Folly*, 319; *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 340.

[49] Fern, *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio, Second Series* (Auburn & Buffalo, N. Y.: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1854), Alice Marshall Collection, 332-33; *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 302.

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[50] Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 364-65.

[51] Fern, *Fern Leaves, Second Series*, 114; *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 366-67.

[52] Fern, *Folly*, 58-60.

[53] Fern, *Folly*, 65-66; *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 316-17.

[54] Here Fern gives a specific example of a way in which a woman--herself--suffered financially because of laws she had no political power to create or overturn. Throughout her career, Fern's articles and books continued to be widely copied across the country and overseas--acts of commercial publication, profitable to the publishers, for which she received no pay.

[55] Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 314-15. A similarly broad complaint is heard in the satirical lyrics Fern wrote for a song called "Woman's Rights" (New York: William Hall & Son, 1853; Box O, Sheet Music, Alice Marshall Collection). Its first and third verses comment on the separate public roles of men and women in mid-nineteenth-century society, focusing specifically on women's exclusion from two of the most conventionally masculine "spheres," warfare and politics:

> 'Tis woman's right to take the field in virtue's holy cause,
> Her right to claim on such a ground society's applause,
> Her right to love her native land, and for its safety pray,
> But not her right to mingle in the battle's deadly fray.
>
> 'Tis woman's right to call on man to cherish and protect,
> Her right to claim at every time his homage and respect,
> Her right to lecture and be heard within domestic walls,
> But not her right to speak aloud in legislative halls.

Lauren Berlant has noted that in "lampooning and lamenting the bogus promises of American citizenship, Fern finds her strongest link to the rhetoric of nineteenth-century feminism, which derived its first documentary model [the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention's "Declaration of Sentiments"] in the Declaration of Independence" (443).

[56] Fern, *Folly*, 261; *Fern Leaves, Second Series*, 133.

[57] Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 294.

[58] Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 336; *Fern Leaves, Second Series*, 333-34.

[59] Fern, *Fern Leaves, Second Series*, 268. Fern's columns on prostitution are remarkable in their candor and surely were shocking to the upper-class readers to whom they were often addressed. In an 1858 column, she objected to the double standards for men's and women's sexual behavior, admonishing upper-class wives for condoning the shunning and imprisonment of prostitutes "while their partners in sin, for whom you

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claim greater mental superiority . . . to them you extend perfect absolution." In another column, she warned wives of the danger of contracting veneral disease from husbands who patronized prostitutes, and the fatal consequences if they were to pass the disease on to their children during childbirth (*Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 307, 293).

[60] Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 305, 327-28.

[61] Warren, 306.

[62] Greenwood, 78; Allibone, 1520.

[63] I am referring here to the lack of major works; Fern has not been "lost" to history, obviously, since she appears in several reference texts including the previously-cited *Biographical Dictionary of American Journalism* and *Notable American Women*.

[64] Philip F. Gura, "Poe, Hawthorne, and One of Those 'Scribbling Women,'" *The Gettysburg Review* 6 (1993): 38-45. This theory, however, ignores the parallel financial success of Harriet Beecher Stowe, who--though often trivialized for her style, as Fern was--has hardly been neglected by scholars.

[65] Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*; Warren, 178.

[66] Among the many American women's studies overviews I have consulted, few include Fern, and most that do--such as Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1966)--briefly mention her as a "domestic novelist" rather than a reform journalist. A few recent works, however, offer more comprehensive entries for Fern. One example is Doris Weatherford's encyclopedic *American Women's History* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1994); another is Angela G. Dorenkamp, et. al., *Images of Women in American Popular Culture* (New York: Harcourt, 1985), which features excerpts from three of Fern's early columns.

[67] For more information about the women whose opinions are mentioned here, see, among other works: Nancy Cott, ed., *Root of Bitterness: Documents of the Social History of American Women* (New York: Dutton, 1972); Flexner, *Century of Struggle*; Kerber and De Hart, *Women's America*; Arlene Kiser, ed., *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly: The Lives and Writings of Notorious Victoria Woodhull and Her Sister Tennessee Claflin* (Washington, N. J.: Times Change Press, 1972); and Aileen S. Kraditor, *Up from the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968).

[68] Indeed, Fern's commercial success--and thus the *impact* of her reform work--may call for a reconsideration not only of our definitions of such terms as "serious," but also of the assumptions we make about what, in fact, "popular" opinion really was in the mid-nineteenth century.

[69] Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, 133.

"The Emergence of Religion Pages in Three Ohio Dailies: 1865-98"

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Introduction

Religion and the press have been intertwined ever since Johann Gutenberg printed a Bible on his history-changing printing press in the fifteenth century. Prior to the invention of movable type, the clergy hand-copied everything and their role as scribes gave them sole control over written communication.[1]

The development of the press in the colonies and later, the United States, is integrally linked with religion as well. As Brown notes, despite the cultural and societal changes of medieval Europe, the clergy continued to play a key role in the diffusion of information, whether it was through the pulpit or through written materials.[2] Yodelis found that early newspaper publishers relied on religious printing more than government printing to help "pay the Piper."[3] Nord even argues that the subjects and methods of reporting news in America are rooted in the strong religious culture of seventeenth-century New England.[4]

When what is reportedly the first U.S. newspaper, *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick*, appeared in 1690, its purposes included, "First, The Memorable Occurrents of Divine Providence may not be Neglected or Forgotten, as they too often are."[5]

And when Bartholomew Green became the publisher of the *Boston News-Letter* in 1722, he wrote, "This is a country that has yet, through the mercy of God, many people in it that have the state of religion in the world very much at heart." With that in mind, he promised to "endeavor now and then to insert an article on the state of religion."[6]

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[1] J. Herbert Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs* (White Plains, N.Y.: Longman, 1984), 7.

[2] Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge is Power: the Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 63-81.

[3] Mary Ann Yodelis, "Who Paid the Piper? Publishing Economics in Boston, 1763-1775," *Journalism Monographs* 38 (February 1975).

[4] David Paul Nord, "Teleology and News: The Religious Roots of American Journalism, 1630-1730," The *Journal of American History*, 77 (June 1990):9-38. Nord also suggests that religious tracts, popular in the early 1800s, were the first true mass media. See Nord, "The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America, 1815-1835," *Journalism Monographs*, 88 (May 1984). Also Nord sees region's role in colonial culture as pivotal in understanding the defense in the John Peter Zenger libel trial in 1735. See Nord, "The Authority of Truth: Religion and the John Peter Zenger Case," *Journalism Quarterly*, 62 (Summer 1985):227-235. Tebbel reports that more than one-third of all early book publishing, the first media in British colonial America, was theological. See John Tebbel, *The Media in America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1974),10.

[5] Carl F.H. Henry, *Successful Church Publicity: A Guidebook for Christian Publicists* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1943), 34.

Given the prominence of religion in the birth of this nation and, according to some, the birth of the daily U.S. newspaper, it seems natural that as daily newspapers in the United States evolved, that evolution included reports of the religious events and figures of the day.

By the year 1949, religion reporting as a beat was developed enough to support the establishment of the Religion Newswriters Association, which survives today.[7] The Associated Press and United Press both named religion reporters in the 1950s.[8] Many, if not most daily newspapers today, have a religion page and many larger newspapers have at least one specialist who serves as religion reporter or editor.[9]

By the 1980s, reporters and researchers alike found that religion reporting was improving.[10] Buddenbaum, for example, found that religion reporting in the 1980s was more issue-oriented and in-depth than it used to be.[11]

Yet, despite claims that religion coverage has improved in recent years, Stempel found that education and classic arts news, which included religion, remained a low priority on the gatekeepers' agenda.[12] And a 1980 study found space for religion news was about the same or less than space for business news in about half of the newspapers studied, regardless of their circulation.[13]

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[6] Henry, *Successful Church Publicity*, 34.

[7] George Dugan, "A History of the Religious Newswriters Association: 1949 to 1959." Pamphlet dated June 1974. This three-page informal history of the group is maintained in the archives of the Religion Newswriters Association, housed at the School of Journalism at Memphis State University, Memphis, Tennessee. Dugan was a religion editor for *The New York Times* in the 1940s and 1950s.

[8] George W. Cornell, "The Evolution of the Religion Beat," in Benjamin J. Hubbard, ed., *Reporting Religion: Facts and Faith* (Sonoma, Calif.: Polbridge Press, 1990), 20-35.

[9] Cornell, "The Evolution of the Religion Beat," 20-35.

[10] Terry Mattingly, "The Religion Beat: Out of the Ghetto into the Mainsheets," *The Quill*, January 1983:14. See also Ernest C. Hynds, "Large Daily Newspapers Have Improved Coverage of Religion," *Journalism Quarterly*, 64 (Summer/Autumn 1987): 444-448. The results of a 1985 survey of religion reporters generally supports Hynds' findings that religion reporting has improved in recent years. See Judith M. Buddenbaum, "The Religion Beat at Daily Newspapers," *Newspaper Research Journal*, 9 (Summer 1988): 57-70.

[11] Judith M. Buddenbaum, "Analysis of Religion Coverage in Three Major Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly*, 63 (Autumn 1986):600-606.

[12] Guido H. Stempel III, "Gatekeeping: The Mix of Topics and the Selection of Stories," *Journalism Quarterly*, 62 (Winter 1985): 790. Religion news ranked 18 out of 18 content areas in a study of editors and reporters by Charles K. Atkin, Judee K. Burgoon and Michale Burgoon, "How Journalists Perceive the Reading Audience," *Newspaper Research Journal*, 4 (Spring 1983):51-63

Few studies exist to explain how religion coverage changed in the 1800s and early 1900s, making impossible any comparisons with studies of present day coverage regarding story subject, format, day of the week published, religious groups reported, and prominence in location.[14] In addition, research has ignored questions regarding the emergence of certain religion news formats – such as the sermon story and announcements of church events – that are a peculiarity in religion coverage. The sermon story, for example, although still prevalent in the 1950s, is rare today. Questions remain as to when and why that and other formats emerged.[15]

Religion is among many specialty reporting areas, or beats, now commonplace in U.S. newspapers. Understanding how religion news developed could help shed light on how other specialized areas of reporting evolved.

Furthermore, typically, religion news has been viewed as a second class, less desirable beat than other newspaper beats.[16] This is despite religion's role in many of the past decade's leading news stories, including the 1994 election of a Republican-controlled Congress; abortion; conflict in the Middle East; AIDS; the collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union; and the fall of the Berlin Wall.

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[13] Ernest C. Hynds, "Business Coverage is Getting Better," *Journalism Quarterly*, 57 (Summer 1980): 297-304.

[14] For additional studies of religion reporting this century, see Oscar Hoffmeyer Jr., "Changes in Religion News Reporting: Dallas *Morning News* 1948-1972," unpublished masters thesis, East Texas State University, 1973. Hoffmeyer found that religion stories between 1948 and 1972 in the Dallas *Morning News* became more in-depth and longer, but fewer in number. Although not a study of daily newspapers, Roderick P. Hart, Katheleen J. Turner and Ralph E. Knupp found that stories about conflict among a denomination's members and stories about Roman Catholics have steadily risen in that time, in an analysis of religion stories in *Time* magazine between 1947 and 1976. See Hart, et. al., "A Rhetorical Profile of Religious News: *Time*, 1947-1976," *Journal of Communication*, 31 (Summer 1981):58-68. Other studies have looked at specific religion stories or issues in the press. See, for example, Frederick D. Buchstein, "The Role of the News Media in the 'Death of God' Controversy," *Journalism Quarterly*, 49 (Spring 1972): 82-83.

[15] Trends in religion news forms such as the sermon story between World War II and 1990 were studied by the author as part of her doctoral dissertation, "God in the News Ghetto: Religion News from 1944-1989.".The work is still in progress. The existence of sermon stories in the 1940s and 1950s and their decline in the next three decades was documented in a content analysis of 3,558 religion stories in six U.S. dailies.

[16] Buddenbaum, "An Analysis of Religion News Coverage," 606.

And it is not clear, in the instance of religion news, what is regarded as news, that is, what judgments are used to decide what becomes news. The notion of news judgement is especially pertinent to religion news given the continuation in many papers today of free listings of services (church announcements) that are viewed by some journalists as outdated. It is important, too, because of persistent criticism from some of the media's handling of religion and accusations of bias by a "secular" press.[17]

A study of how religion content has changed over the years could shed light on the traditions and conventions of religion reporting that led to present perceptions and the practice of "ghettoized" religion news, in which religion reports became segregated on the lowest circulation day – Saturday.

One more compelling reason can be cited for the need to study how religion has been covered by the press: Studying how religion news has evolved may reflect the changing role of religion in the secular U.S. society. As Altholz points out, "The press in all its forms, newspaper, magazine, review and annual, is the indispensable primary source for the study of nineteenth-century religion."[18] Although the study of religion is not the foremost concern of mass communications scholars, the value of a newspaper content study to another scholarly discipline deserves to be noted.

This study looked at religion news in Ohio daily newspapers in the mid- to late-1800s, as a way to help understand how religion news developed in a time of fervent changes in U.S. newspapers overall. It is intended to help document quantitatively some of the roots of modern religion coverage.

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[17] There are many examples of critiques of modern-day religion coverage. Among them is John Bluck's *Beyond Neutrality: A Christian Critique of the Media*, The Risk Book Series No. 3 (Geneva, Switzerland: World Council of Churches, 1978). Also, Gary Wills complains that coverage of presidential campaigns in 1988 failed to include journalists knowledgable about religion, despite the fact that the Rev. Pat Robertson was among the Republican primary campaigners. See Wills' *Under God: Religion and American Politics* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990). The "secular editor's" thesis has been popular despite data showing that reporters claim a faith in similar proportions to the general population. For a clear discussion of the secular editor's thesis and the results of a recent survey showing just the opposite, see John Dart and Jimmy Allen, *Bridging the Gap: Religion and the News Media* (Nashville, Tenn.: The Freedom Forum's First Amendment Center at Vanderbilt University, 1993), 38.

[18] Josef L. Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900*, Contributions to the Study of Religion, No. 22, Henry Warner Bowdon, Series Editor (New York: Greenwood Press), 1.

To do so, the author applied a quantitative methodology – content analysis – to a historical study. The goal was to provide some quantitative data, which might then provide evidence for future investigations into the reasons why trends, if any, occurred, and how they fit into other trends in the development of modern day newspapers. The study examined 1,518 religion stories.

Past Research

Historians have credited the penny press of the 1830s and James Gordon Bennett's New York Herald with the first routine coverage of religious events and meetings.[19] But changing news values were not the only transformation in the press in the 1800s. Improved, faster printing methods, new means of transportation, the emergence of routine Sunday editions, and circulation wars also affected what and how news was covered.[20]

Researchers, however, have rarely looked at the specifics of how religion news was treated by the secular press of the 1800s, despite the fact that it was an era of religious revival, and of controversy about abolition that led to splits in some of the nation's largest church groups over the issue of slavery.[21]

In one of the few quantitative studies of religion in secular newspapers of the 1800s, Nordin found in a content analysis of 16 dailies and 16 weekly newspapers between 1849 and 1960 that either Saturday or Sunday religion pages had emerged in eight of the dailies by 1874, and in 13, or 81 percent, by 1904. By 1931, all the daily newspapers in the sample had a weekend religion page. Monday religion pages were less common.[22]

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[19] Judith M. Buddenbaum, " 'Judge...What Their Acts Will Justify': The Religion Journalism of James Gordon Bennett," *Journalism History*, 14 (Summer/Autumn 1987): 54-55. See also Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1988), 121.

[20] Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History: 1690-1960*, 3rd ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), 478-513. Pickett, however, found the initial response to some of these changes was not uniform. See Calder M. Pickett, "Technology and the 19th Century Press," *Journalism Quarterly*, 37 (Spring 1960) 398-407. Also, Shaw found that the period immediately before the Civil War was not as great a time of change in U.S. newspapers as some have claimed, given the emergence of the penny press in the 1830s. See Donald Lewis Shaw, "At the Crossroads: Change and Continuity in American Press News 1820-1860," *Journalism History*, 8 (Summer 1981): 38-53. Although Shaw does a thorough content analysis of 3,273 articles during this time, his breakdown of news into 11 topics did not include religion as a separate category. Shaw analyzes the same data from another angle in "News About Slavery from 1820-1860 In Newspapers of South, North and West," *Journalism Quarterly*, 61 (Autumn 1984): 483-492.

[21] This study focuses on religion news in secular newspapers. Religious publications flourished in the 1800s and are excluded from this study. One of the most thorough works on religious journalism during this time focuses on the British press. See Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain*.

Baldasty, in a content analysis, found religion news comprised .6 percent of the news in five metropolitan newspapers and 4.2 percent in four non-metropolitan newspapers in 1831 and 1832. By 1897, religion news was 4.5 percent of the news in eight metropolitan newspapers; 3.2 percent in five smaller city newspapers in 1883 and 1897; and 1.2 percent in three small-town newspapers in 1897.[23]

Specifically Ohio newspapers have not been analyzed for their religion content in the late 1800s, although various histories of Ohio journalism exist, with Hooper's 1933 book likely among the first.[24]

Methodology

The years between the end of the Civil War (1865) and the start of the Spanish-American War (1898) were chosen because they provide a framework when many changes in U.S. newspapers occurred and when one might expect significant changes in religion news as well. Also, these two wars could be seen as news events that might dominate the news coverage when they occurred, so focusing on a time when no such war existed seemed reasonable.

Ohio was chosen for study because it is a heavily populated state and its history reflects the growth of urban areas similar to what other parts of the nation experienced during the 1800s. Other societal and religious trends of the 1800s, including the growth of an immigrant population and a religious revival among Protestant groups, also are reflected in Ohio's history. The reasoning was that if patterns were found in these parochial examples, it is possible that patterns existed on a larger basis in newspapers across the nation.

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[22] Kenneth D. Nordin, "Non-Sectarian Religion: An Historical Interpretation of the Shape of Religious News in the American Daily Press," unpublished paper presented at the 61st Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Seattle, Washington, August 13-15, 1978.

[23] Gerald J. Baldasty, The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 23, 123.

[24] Osman Castle Hooper, *History of Ohio Journalism: 1793-1933* (Columbus, Ohio: The Spahr & Glenn Company, 1933).

The newspapers chosen for study were: The Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, the Columbus *Ohio State Journal* and the Toledo *Blade*. These newspapers were selected because they were among those located in the state's larger cities of the time, in which a sizable religious community existed. Furthermore, the newspapers chosen represented a variety of circulation sizes, publication sizes, and cities with varied predominant religious traditions.[25] They also are those for which a near-complete collection exists in libraries. Smaller Ohio newspapers of the time were weeklies in 1865, when this study begins. The few small town dailies that did exist were not available in complete enough collections during the years of the study to be practical.

This study will look at the years 1865 to 1898 in fifteen-year increments, to make it manageable. It seems reasonable that some change will be evident from one 15-year span to the next. A random number was chosen to select the beginning year of the study. The year 1867 was chosen; thus the study included the years 1867, 1882, and 1897.

Two weeks each year were selected, choosing the weeks from the two major Christian church seasons.[26] A week was defined as Sunday through Saturday. Although many content studies look at Monday through Friday newspapers, this study is looking at the way religion news became segregated during the week, so the study of the entire week seemed necessary. Not all the newspapers had a Sunday edition for the years analyzed, however.

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[25] A city's religious makeup was judged from listings of churches that appeared sporadically in city directories of the time.

[26] Both the Christian and Jewish calendars have two major seasons for festivals. In the Christian Calendar, one season is October through January, when the Christian events of Advent, Christmas and Epiphany occur (In Judaism, Yom Kippur, Rosh Hashanah and Hanukkah fall in these same months). The other is February through May, when Lent, Easter and Pentecost are celebrated (The Jewish calendar includes the festival of Passover during this time). The summer months of June through September do not include any major Christian festivals and at least in contemporary times, they tend to be a time of low church attendance. However, most contemporary denominational meetings are held in summer months. Also, it should be noted that the Jewish holidays of Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashanah sometimes occur in late September. One week from each of the key Christian/Jewish seasons was selected randomly, using a table of random numbers. In this case, the sixth week in each of those four-month seasons was chosen, starting with the first full week of that four-month block. Due to the random number selected, the sample excluded the weeks of Christmas (December 25) and Easter (April 21 in 1867; April 9 in 1882 and April 18 in 1897). These weeks could have created distortions as to the amount of religion coverage, since they are frequently times of extra activities in church life.

The entire study examined 112 issues of the three newspapers, with a total of 768 pages read. A total of 1,518 religion news items were coded, in seven different areas, for a total of 10,262 coding decisions.

Religion content was defined as that which centered on the activities and views of organizations set up for the practice of religion, such as churches or synagogues; people employed by those organizations or participating in activities in those organizations; and events affecting the beliefs or activities or these groups and people.

"Religion" in this use referred to any system of belief regarding a deity, prophet, or transcendent spiritual entity that employs rituals and provides understanding of humanity's relationship to the world, other people, and/or a reality beyond physical existence. Social organizations and benevolent organizations set up primarily for a specific non-religious issue, such as temperance, were excluded. Also excluded were groups such as the Masons or other organizations described in the late 1800s as "secret" or "mystic" societies.

This study determined whether or not an article was "centered on" religious content if any of these items was in the headline or was in the first three paragraphs. Although news prior to the Civil War often was not organized in an inverted pyramid, that style of news writing did exist after the war. The first three paragraphs was arbitrarily chosen as a length by which a reader might reasonably assume the primary topic of a news article was mentioned.

Thus, under this definition religion stories could include, for example, reports from denominational meetings about the release of money for missionary work; reports of a sermon on the evils of theater; announcements of new ministers; reports of legislation restricting the Mormon practice of polygamy; and news of biblical archaeological findings in Egypt.

Content was recorded whether it was actually news, that is, based on facts, or whether it appeared to be a story based on fiction. The inclusion of all religion content was made because in newspapers of this era it sometimes was difficult to know what was based on actual occurrences and what was not, since writing conventions such as the use of frequent attribution were not yet in practice. Also, editorial content was not clearly segregated in 1867, the first year of newspapers to be studied, so religion content often included a mixture of statements of opinion and fact.

The unit analyzed was a story. Thus, every story in each issue selected from a year was read. A "story" could include an item under a column or group headline, such as "Telegraph News" or "Local News," since during this time news was frequently clumped together in such groups without individual headlines on every item. Thus, any religion copy not specifically an advertisement was analyzed, with the exception of plain lists, such as those of deaths, court cases, market prices, or incorporations. Art or graphics, rare during this period of study, were not formally counted as part of the copy.

The stories were coded for the following information: Origin of content, length of story, headline, page numbers, religion reported, news format, day of week, and subject reported.[27]

Although all reported results were coded by one person, a second coder reviewed 31 religion items (one week of the *Ohio State Journal*), for a total of 248 separate coding decisions. The two coders had agreement in 85 percent of the coding decisions.

All data was imported into SPSS, where crosstabs were computed. A Chi-square test for goodness of fit was conducted on all data and reported in those cases in which the number of cells with a frequency of five or greater was at least 80 percent.[28] The significance level was predetermined at .01. In addition, chi squares were done on the basic frequencies and reported when valid.

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[27] For a detailed list of categories under each variable, see Appendix A.

[28] A discussion of the problem with using chi-squares when there are too many cells with five or fewer frequencies is found in Sidney Siegel and N. John Castellan, Jr. *Non-parametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company), 49. The authors give the advice that this

In addition to the coded data, the author recorded the number of pages in each issue and documented the appearance of advertisements for religious groups and organized pages titled "Religion" or "Church" news. [29]

Results

The study found several trends in the religion news analyzed. The study looked at 167 stories from 1867; 420 stories from 1882 and 931 stories from 1897.

Regarding the day of the week on which most religion news ran, about 16 percent of the religion stories in 1867 ran on Saturday, compared to more than 58 percent in 1897. In 1967, the stories were more evenly distributed among every week day. Although Tuesday had the highest percent of religion news in 1867 (22.6 percent), by 1897, just under 6 percent of the 931 religion stories that year ran on Tuesday. By 1897, the second highest percent of religion news appeared on Monday, where about 12 percent of the religion news occurred (See Table 11 Day of Week by Year).

Table 11 Day of Week by Year

	1867	**1882**	**1897**
Sunday	No Sunday paper	No Sunday paper	6.3 % (59)
Monday	15.6 % (26)	14.3 % (60)	11.7 % (109)
Tuesday	21.6 % (36)	13.3 % (56)	5.8 % (54)
Wednesday	17.4 % (29)	14.8 % (62)	6.9 % (64)
Thursday	13. 8 % (23)	12.4 % (52)	5.3 % (49)
Friday	16.2 % (27)	14.5 % (61)	5.5 % (51)
Saturday	15.6 % (26)	30.7 % (129)	58.5 % (545)
Column Totals	11% (167)	27.7 % (420)	61.3 % (931)
X^2=259.3664; d.f. =12; $p<.001$			

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this chi square should not be used if more than 20 percent of the expected frequences are less than 5 or when any expected frequency is less than 1.

[29] A summary of frequencies for all variables is included in Appendix B.

Not only was Saturday the day on which most religion news in 1897 ran, but that year also was the first one in which all three of the papers studied had a "religion" page or part of a page, noted by a headline or column head (See Table 12 Headline by Year).

Table 12 Headline by Year

	1867	1882	1897
Own Headline	24 % (40)	25.7 % (108)	34.2 % (318)
No Headline	24.6 % (41)	6.4 % (27)	3.4 % (32)
Column Headline	51.5 % (86)	67.9 % (285)	62.4 % (581)
Column Totals	11 % (167)	27.7 % (420)	61.3 % (931)

Table 13 Religion by Year

	1867	1882	1897
Protestant	37.1 % (62)	42.1 % (177)	71.6 % (667)
Catholic	18.6 % (31)	16.2 % (68)	7.7 % (72)
Orthodox	1.8 % (3)	.5 % (2)	.2 % (2)
Jewish	.6 % (1)	.5 % (2)	1.0 % (9)
Christian Unspecified	37.1 % (62)	31.7 % (133)	15.3 % (142)
Other	1.8 % (3)	8.1 % (34)	3.3 % (31)
Unknown	0	0	.6 % (6)
Several Faiths	3.0 % (5)	1.0 % (4)	.2 % (2)
Column Totals	11.0 % (167)	27.7 % (420)	61.3 % (931)

In this first study detailing the religious groups reflected in news of this era, the results showed that the percent of coverage of distinctly Protestant groups increased from about 37 percent to more than 71 percent in those thirty years of the study. (See Table 13 Religion by Year). Furthermore, despite an increase in the number of Roman Catholics coming to the United States during this time, the number of stories about Catholics dropped from about 18 percent in 1867 to about 8 percent in 1897.[30] The stories became more precise, too, with stories centering on unspecified Christian groups declining from about 37 percent in 1867 to about 32 percent in 1882 and about 15 percent in 1897.[31]

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[30] The near doubling in 1882 of the religion category of "other" was primarily a result of several stories about anti-Polygamy legislation being debated in Washington, D.C. to combat the practice among Mormon church members, who were then requiring church leaders to have more than one wife.

[31] In all likelihood, the "Christian-unspecified" category was most often about a Protestant group, especially since terms for the clergy such as "The Rev." and "pastor" are commonly used among these religious groups. Writers and editors of the time seemed to prefer "priest" for Roman Catholic clergy. If the "Christian-unspecified" category is understood to be predominantly Protestant, then the change in the number of Protestant stories becomes less dramatic.

Just as religion news became increasingly segregated on the Saturday paper, the news also moved off of the front pages and inside the paper. In 1867, for example, about 28 percent of the religion news appeared on the papers' front pages. By 1897, it had dropped to just over 4 percent. (See Table 14).

Table 14 Page Location by Year

	1867	1882	1897
Front Page	27.5 % (6)	24.3 % (102)	4.6% (43)
Inside Page	72.5% (121)	75.7 % (318)	95.4% (888)
Totals	11% (167)	27.6% (420)	61.3 % (931)

X^2=139.9725; d.f. =2; p<.001

The number of religion items on each news page rose slightly over the period of the study, reflecting the fact that as the newspapers grew in size, so did the coverage of religion. In each paper, the average number of religion items per total pages rose across the span of the study. The number rose the most for Columbus, *Ohio State Journal*, which had .78 religious items per page in 1867. But the paper had more than four times that number in 1897, with 4.43 religious items per page. The size of all the newspapers combined grew from a total 192 pages in 1867 to 380 pages in 1897 (See Table 15 Average Religion Items Per Page).

Table 15 Average Religion Items Per Page

	1867 Pages: 192 Stories: 167	1882 Pages: 193 Stories: 167	1897 Pages: 193 Stories: 167
Cleveland*	.65	1.61	1.41
Columbus*	.78	3.00	4.43
Toledo**	1.27	2.42	2.8

*Had Sunday editions in 1897 only.
**Had no Sunday editions any year.

Just as the study found a trend toward placing most religion news in the Saturday paper, there was an increase in the provincial flavor of the news, with an increasing number of the items locally generated. The percent of local news rose from about 30 percent in 1867 to nearly 78 percent (See Table 16 Origin of Story by Year).

Table 16 Origin of Story by Year

	1867	1882	1897
Local	29.3 % (49)	43.3 % (182)	77.1 % (718)
Not Local	56.9 % (95)	48.6 % (204)	16.8 % (156)
Unknown	13.8 % (23)	8.1 % (34)	6.1 % (57)
Column Totals	11.0 % (167)	27.7 % (420)	61.3 % (931)

X^2=240.2702; d.f.=4; p<.001

Regarding story subjects, the number of announcements of events, compared to other types of news subjects, nearly tripled over the thirty years in the study (See Table 17 Subject by Year). Announcements comprised about 16 percent of the total items in 1867, but rose to more than 56 percent in 1897.

Table 17 Subject by Year

	1867	1882	1897
Academic	4.8 % (8)	2.9 % (12)	1.0 % (9)
Announcement	15.6 % (26)	23.1 % (97)	56.3 % (524)
Beliefs, Practices	12.6 % (21)	14.8 % (62)	8.1 % (75)
Books, Music	1.8 % (3)	.7 % (3)	1.0% (9)
Crime, Violence	4.8 % (8)	4.3% (18)	2.9 % (27)
Holidays	3.6% (6)	6.0% (25)	2.4 % (22)
Humor	12.6 % (21)	5.7% (24)	2.6% (24)
Issues	12 % (20)	3.3 % (14)	4.5% (42)
Missions	2.4 % (26)	1.4% (6)	1.2 % (11)
Operations	22.8% (38)	30.5 % (128)	17.4 % (162)
Personalities	6% (10)	6.4 % (27)	2.5% (23)
Places	1.2% (2)	1% (4)	.3 % (3)
Column Totals	11% (167)	27.7% (420)	61.3% (931)

X^2=241.4928; d.f.=22; p<.001 (cells with <5=16.7 %)

Although not all categories of the form, or story format, variable yielded differences among the years that were statistically significant, one category that showed a significant decline was "jokes" or "amusements." The number of items coded as jokes or amusements dropped from more than 11 percent of the total items in 1867 to about 2.7 percent of all stories in 1897 (See Table 18 Form by Year). Similarly, the number of stories that were primarily summaries of sermons grew from none in 1867 to almost 4 percent in 1897.

Table 18 Form by Year

	1867	1882	1897
Editorials	1.8 % (3)	2.4 % (10)	.3 % (3)
Jokes	11.4 % (19)	5% (21)	2.7 % (25)
Features	1.2 % (2)	1.7 % (7)	1.1 % (10)
Fiction	.6 % (1)	0	.4 % (4)
Other	1.2 % (2)	2.1 % (9)	1.6 % (15)
Review	0	.5 % (2)	.2 % (2)
Sermons	0	1.9 % (8)	3.7 % (34)
Standard	83.8 (140)	86.4 % (363)	90 % (838)
Column Totals	11 % (167)	27.7 % (420)	61.3 % (931)

Table 19 Story Length by Year

	1867	1882	1897
Under 1 Inch	57.5 % (96)	74.3 % (312)	67.2% (626)
Short	31.7% (53)	18.8 % (79)	25.2% (235)
Medium	3.6 % (6)	4.5 % (19)	2.6 % (24)
Long	5.4 % (9)	2.1 % (9)	2.8% (26)
Very Long	1.8% (3)	.2% (1)	2.1% (20)
Total	11 % (167)	27.7 % (420)	61.3 % (931)

Table 20 Length by Religion

	Protestant	Catholic	Orthodox	Jewish	Christian	Other	Unknown	Several
Under 1 Inch	75.9% (688)	54.4 % (93)	71.4% (5)	50 % (6)	57.9 % (195)	51.5 % (35)	50 % (3)	81.8 % (9)
Short	19.5 % (177)	36.3 % (62)	14.3 % (1)	41.7% (5)	27.6 % (93)	36.8 % (25)	33.3 % (2)	18.2 % (2)
Medium	1.9% (17)	5.9 % (7)	14.3% (1)	8.3 (1)	5.6 % (19)	5.9 % (4)	0	0
Long	1.4 % (13)	2.3% (4)	0	0 (23)	6.8 % (4)	5.9 % (4)	0	0
Very Long	1.2 % (11)	2.9 % (5)	0	0	2.1 % (7)	0	16.7% (1)	0
Column Totals	59.7 % (906)	11.3 % (171)	.5 % (7)	.8 % (12)	22.2 % (337)	4.5 % (68)	.4 % (6)	.7 % (10)

As Table 19 makes clear, the vast majority of all religion news items in each year measured only one inch or less. The short, medium, and long categories of story length all declined between 1867 and 1897, although the declines did not always hold steady for the year 1882.

The data also were combined for all three years to allow the author to look more closely at how some of the variables affected others, especially the variables of, religion, and day of the week. None of these comparisons had enough cells with frequencies over five to compute valid chi squares, and the validity of combining data from a thirty-year sample must be viewed with caution. However, the author believed that some of the data might generate interest in further, more representative work in some of these areas.

In regards to story length, a significant number of the long or very long stories were those that were reports of sermon topics. Sermon reports accounted for nearly 30 percent of all long stories and more than half of all stories over twenty inches, noted as "very long." There was a clear pattern that the longer the story was, the less likely it was to fall into the "standard" category of news format. Not surprising, in the two categories that represented stories up to five inches long, stories most often took the "standard" format, that is, they were routine announcements or descriptions of church activities (See Table 20 Form by Length).

Perhaps not surprising, a higher percent of Protestant stories fell into the "Announcement" subject category than any other religion. Among all Protestant stories, 59.6 percent were announcements, compared to only 17 percent of all Catholic stories (See Table 21 Subject by Religion). More than 23 percent of the stories about Catholics fell into the "holidays" category; this peculiarity reflects the fact that one of the sample weeks randomly chosen came during the week of St. Patrick Day celebrations. Although St. Patrick's Day is viewed as a secular holiday in the 1990s, stories coded for this project reflected a distinct religious aspect to the holiday. In comparison with other religious groups, the substantially higher percent (nearly 53 percent compared to say, 19.6 percent groups, the substantially higher percent (nearly 53 percent compared to say, 19.6 percent of the unspecified "Christian" stories) of stories focusing on "other" religions that were about beliefs and practices reflects a specific situation from 1882: As mentioned before, during this year there was extensive coverage of legislation that would prohibit the Mormon practice of polygamy. These stories were coded as "other" for religion and as "beliefs and practices" for subject.

Table 21 Subject by Religion

	Protestant	Catholic	Orthodox	Jewish	Christian	Other	Unknown	Several
Academic	1.4 % (13)	2. 3 % (4)	0	0	3.3 % (11)	0	0	10 % (1)
Announcement	59.6 % (541)	17 % (29)	28.6 % (2)	16.7 % (2)	16.3 % (55)	23.5 % (916)	16.7 % (1)	9.1 % (1)
Beliefs, Practices	4.7 % (43)	5.3 % (9)	14.3 % (1)	8.3 % (1)	19.6 % (66)	52.9 % (36)	16.7 % (1)	9.1 % (1)
Books , Music	.6 (5)	1.2 % (2)	0	0	1.2 % (4)	2.9 % (2)	0	18.2 % (2)
Crime, Violence	2.2 % (20)	7 % (12)	0	16.7 % (2)	4.7 % (6)	1.5 % (1)	16.7 % (1)	9.1 % (1)
Holidays	.4 % (4)	23.4 % (40)	14.3 % (1)	8.3 % (1)	2.1 % (7)	0	0	0
Humor	1.9 % (17)	4.1 % (7)	0	8.3 % (1)	11.6 % (39)	2.9 % (2)	0	27.3 % (3)
Issues	2.8 % (25)	11.7 % (20)	0	8.3 % (1)	7.7 % (26)	4.4 % (3)	0	9.1 % (1)
Missions	1.0 % (9)	1.2 % (2)	0	8.3 % (1)	2.7 % (9)	0	0	0
Operations	22.4 % (203)	19.9 % (34)	14.3 % (1)	8.3 % (1)	23.4 % (79)	10.3 % (7)	33.3 % (2)	9.1 % (1)
Personalities	2.3 % (21)	5.8 % (10)	14.3 % (1)	16.7 % (2)	7.1 % (24)	1.5 % (1)	16.7 % (1)	0
Places	.6 % (5)	1.2 % (2)	14.3 % (1)	0	.3 % (1)	0	0	0
Column Total	59.7 % (906)	11.3 % (171)	.5 % (7)	.8 % (12)	22.2 % (337)	4.5 % (68)	.4 % (6)	.7 % (11)

The day when most of the religion coverage occurred varied depending on the religion featured in the story (See Table 22 Day of the Week by Religion). Although more than 57 percent of all Protestant stories ran on Saturday, the percent of other faiths segregated to that day was much lower, averaging just under 30 percent for stories featuring all other coded faiths. This is a reflection of the fact that most of the announcements of church events, which ran most often on Saturdays, featured Protestant churches. Yet while the percent of Protestant stories appearing in the Saturday paper was higher than for any other faith, Saturday remained the day when more religion news occurred than in any other day regardless of the faith, with the exception of stories about the Orthodox Church. (The entire study found only seven stories about Orthodox Christians, none of which ran on Saturday.)

Table 22 Form by Religion

	Protestant	Catholic	Orthodox	Jewish	Christian	Other	Unknown	Several
Editorials	0	.6 % (1)	0	8.3 % (1)	1.5 % (5)	13.2 % (9)	0	0
Jokes	1.5 % (14)	1.8 % (3)	0	8.3 % (1)	11.9 % (4)	5.9 % (4)	0	27.3 % (3)
Features	.3 % (3)	3.5 % (6)	14.3 % (1)	0	2.1 % (7)	1.5 % (1)	16.7 % (1)	0
Fiction	0	1.2 % (2)	0	0	.9 % (3)	0	0	0
Other	0	1.2 % (2)	0	8.3 % (10)	6.2 % (21)	2.9 % (2)	0	0
Review	.1 % (1)	.6 % (1)	0	0	.3 % (1)	1.5 % (1)	0	0
Sermons	2.8 % (25)	.6 % (1)	0	0	4.7 % (16)	0	0	0
Standard	95.3 % (863	90.6 % (155)	85.7 % (6)	75 % (9)	72.4 % (244)	75 % (51)	83.3 % (5)	72.7 % (8)
Column Totals	59.7 % (906)	11.3 % (171)	.5 % (7)	.8 % (12)	22.2 % (337)	4.5 % (68)	.4 % (6)	.7 % (11)

When looking at the day of the week, there is little difference between the percent of local and non-local stories running on Tuesday through Friday; on each of those days, the percent of local and non-local stories ranges from 40 to 52 percent (See Table 23 Origin of Story by Day of the Week). Again, reflecting the high number of church announcements, about 79 percent of the stories on Saturday were local. In contrast, only about 46 percent of Sunday's stories were locally generated and more than 30 percent were of unknown origin – the highest percent of stories without a clear origin of any day of the week. The reason for this is unclear.

Table 23 Origin of Story by Day of the Week

	Sun.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.
Local	45.8 % (27)	52.3 % (102)	45.9 % (67)	50.3 % (78)	51.6 % (64)	41.7 % (58)	79 % (553)
Not Local	23.7% (14)	38.5 % (75)	47.9 % (70)	40.6 % (63)	42.7 % (53)	51.8 % (72)	15.4 % (108)
Unknown	30.5 % (18)	9.2 % (18)	6.2 % (9)	9 % (14)	5.6 % (7)	6.5 % (9)	5.6 % (39)
Column Totals	3.9 % (59)	12.8 % (195)	9.6 % (146)	10.2 % (155)	8.2 % (124)	9.2 % (139)	46.1 % (700)

X^2=211.1788; d.f. = 12; p<.001

Religion coverage was more prominent on Monday through Friday, when between 15 and 23 percent of all stories ran on the front page, than on Saturday and Sunday. On Saturday, just under 6 percent of all stories ran on the front page, and on Sunday only 1 of the 59 stories made the front page (See Table 24 Location in Paper by Day of the Week). But while more stories ran on the front page during weekdays in comparison to weekends, the vast majority of all stories still ran inside the paper. The smaller percent on Saturday suggests that once religion was segregated to its own page, more stories were placed there automatically, rather than judging them on their own merits for news values.

Table 24 Location in Paper by Day of the Week

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Front Page	1.7 % (1)	19.5 % (38)	20.5 % (30)	14.8 % (23)	21.8 % (27)	23 % (32)	5.7 % (40)
Inside Page	98.3 % (58)	80.5 % (157)	79.5 % (116)	85.2 % (732)	78.2 % (97)	77 % (107)	94.3 % (660)
Column Total	3.9 % (59)	12.8 % (195)	9.6 % (146)	10.2 % (155)	8.2 % (124)	9.2 % (139)	46.1 5 (700)

x^2=81.1642; d.f.=6;p<.001

It has already been noted that the majority of the religion news on Saturday was comprised of announcements of upcoming events. As Table 25 indicates, more than two-thirds of all Saturday "stories" were these announcements. However, more than 20 percent of all stories on every other day of the week also were comprised of announcements. Stories about religious groups' routine operations represented more stories on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays than on any other day. This could be because church business meetings were often held during the week.

Table 25 Subject by Day of the Week

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Academic	1.7 % (1)	1.5 % (3)	.7 % (1)	.6 % (1)	5.6 % (7)	2.2 % (3)	1.9 % (13)
Announcement	20.3 % (12)	14.4 % (28)	26 % (38)	23.2 % (36)	25.8 % (32)	21.6 % (30)	67.3 % (471)
Beliefs, Practices	16.9 % (10)	17.4 % (34)	11.6 % (17)	18.7 % (29)	12.1 % (15)	7.2 % (10)	6.1 % (43)
Books, Music	0	1% (2)	2.1 % (3)	0	3.2 % (4)	1.4 % (2)	.6 % (4)
Crime, Violence	11.9 % (6)	2.1 % (4)	4.8 % (7)	1.3 % (2)	4 % (5)	8.6 % (12)	2.3 % (16)
Holidays	3.4 % (2)	2.6 % (5)	2.7 % (4)	4.5 % (7)	7.3 % (9)	4.3 % (6)	2.9 % (20)
Humor	13.6 % (8)	3.1 % (6)	7.5 % (11)	6.5 % (10)	3.2 % (4)	8.6 % (12)	2.6 % (18)
Issues	5.1 % (3)	10.3 % (20)	6.2 % (9)	7.1 % (11)	7.3 % (9)	7.2 % (10)	2 % (14)
Missions	1.7 % (1)	1.5 % (3)	.7 % (1)	3.2 % (5)	.8 % (1)	1.4 % (2)	1.1 % (8)
Operations	13.6 % (8)	40.5 % (79)	30.8 % (45)	25.2 % (39)	25 % (31)	34.5 % (48)	11.1 % (78)
Personalities	11.9 % (7)	5.1 % (10)	4.1 % (6)	9.7 % (15)	4 % (5)	2.9 % (4)	1.9 % (13)
Places	0	.5 % (1)	2.7 % (4)	0	1.6 % (2)	0	.3 % ((2)
Column Totals	3.9 % (59)	12.8 % (195)	9.6 % (146)	10.2 % (155)	8.2 % (124)	9.2 % (139)	46.1 % (700)

Conclusions

This study, as intended, quantified trends regarding religion news in the mid- to late-1800s.

Between the years of 1867 and 1897, some of Ohio's major newspapers at the time began the segregation of religion news on the Saturday pages that has continued in some U.S. newspapers today.

Religion news was increasingly played inside the paper instead of on the front page, and by 1897, more than half of the religion news was synonymous with one- to two-inch listings of announcements of upcoming services and sermon topics.

By 1897, all three newspapers had some kind of column heading for listings of Sunday services, while none of the papers had such column headings or groupings of announcements in 1867. At the same time, sometimes duplicate listings of churches and their service times were included in the classified advertisements; an informal observation indicates the use of advertisements by religious groups grew in the thirty years studied.

So while the years between the Civil and Spanish American wars were a time of many changes in daily newspapers, religion news of the time was part of those changes.

The growth of religion news overall in this time combined with the growth of local coverage is consistent with judgments of modern day news values that place a premium on news closer in proximity than news generated at a greater distance from the reader.

The fact that this increase in local coverage was comprised mostly of announcements of religious services perhaps provides a logical explanation of why the coverage ran primarily on Saturday: It was the day before when most of the religious services were held. But unlike today, in which Saturday newspapers often are the lowest in circulation, the Saturday papers in the mid-1800s were among the largest, until Sunday papers emerged.[32]

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[32] Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism*, 318. Before 1860, only four cities had Sunday editions of daily newspapers, although Mott says the Civil War helped spark interest in these editions. Still, Sunday issues remained no larger than daily issues for several decades. Mott, *American Journalism*,

An increase in coverage of Sunday sermons also could be a reflection of the growing staffs of reporters who editors were hiring within the years of the study and a relaxing of social values that opposed working on Sunday, allowing reporters to cover Sunday worship services.

A look at society in the late 1800s might give clues as to why religion news by 1897 had not reflected the surge in U.S. Catholics. The late 1800s and early 1900s were a time of increasing anti-Catholic animosity, vocalized by such groups as the Ku Klux Klan. It was also a time of increasing hostility toward immigrants, many of whom were Catholic.

Also, many of these immigrant Catholics spoke other languages and might not have been regular readers of these three English language papers. In fact, some of these ethnic Catholic groups, such as the Germans, eschewed assimilation into U.S. culture and published newspapers in their native language.[33]

Clearly, this study does not tell researchers why these changes occurred or specifically how. In addition, it fails to look closely at specific news events to discern if religion news at the time was treated differently than news on other beats. Were sermon stories played more or less prominently in the late 1880s than other types of news. Did other "beats" generate the voluminous listings of events that padded these early religion pages? Why did newspapers feel compelled to provide the equivalent of free advertising to religious groups. Was news of certain religious groups judged differently than other groups? Furthermore, a quantitative study, although useful as a start, fails to communicate the color and peculiarities of reporting in this era. These are deficiencies that future research needs to address.

Looking more closely at the emergence of "church advertisements" could also yield interesting insights into present practices of daily newspapers today, in which dozens of

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397. By 1890, more than 250 daily newspapers published Sunday editions, still only 15 percent of the total number of daily newspapers of the time. See Mott, *American Journalism*, 481.

[33] Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America*, 247.

column inches are sometimes given away free to religion groups for what are essentially advertisements of services and sermon topics.

Expanding the study an additional thirty years, to roughly 1930, might help give a clearer vision of how religion news changed over time. Actual measures of column inches, although difficult to do accurately with microfilm, would give a better idea of how the news changed in proportion to all other news. (Rather than relying only on the average number of stories per page, which is relatively small regardless of the change.) This could be helpful because the present study found that although the number of religion news items grew, they remained predominantly one- and two-inches in length.

Finally, an analysis over time of strictly the religious sections themselves would be helpful to see how the mix of announcements with actual news varied through the years on the emerging religion pages.

The existence of "religion pages" by the late 1800s, with the newspapers' voluminous listings of worship services, shows that today's religion pages have a long historical precedent. Further exploration into why these developments occurred could help newspaper editors today discern if their judgments of religion news are more a matter of history and convention than the actual use of news judgment.

Appendix A

The 1,518 religion stories were coded for the following information:

1.) ORIGIN OF STORY: The place of origin for the content was noted. Since bylines were uncommon in 1867 and the meaning of terms such as "special correspondence" was not clear, the origin of a story referred to the location of the news or news source, rather than the location of the writer of the news. Thus stories were coded as either originating in the city where the newspaper was located (Local); outside of that city (Non-local) or if the originating point was unclear (Unknown).

2.) LENGTH: A general notation about the length of the story was noted. Length was divided into five broad categories, based on an estimated column inch for the time: Under 1 inch; 1.1 inch to 5.0 inches (SHORT) ; 5.1 inches to 10 inches (MEDIUM) ; 10.1 inches to 20 inches (LONG) and 20.1 inches or more (VERY LONG). The breakdown was selected in part based on conventions of typical story lengths at the time. [34] The length measured was the actual story, without headlines or art.

3.) HEADLINES: A notation was made whether the story had its own, free-standing headline or not. Stories that appeared in columns with other unrelated items, such as "Local News," or "Telegraph News," were noted as having a column head.

4.) PAGE NUMBER: A religious item was coded as being on page one or on an inside page.

5.) RELIGION: The religion that was the dominant subject of a newspaper item was noted in the categories of Protestant, Catholic, Christian, Jewish, Orthodox, Other, All and Unknown, with the following definitions:

Protestant: All Christian denominations falling in the classification of Mainline, Evangelical or Charismatic groups.

Catholic: Refers to all aspects of the Roman Catholic Church.

Orthodox: Refers to Orthodox Christian groups, distinguished from other Christians because of a variant church calendar and hierarchical structure. Most Orthodox groups, such as the Greeks, are also distinguished because of their ties to a particular ethnic group.

Jewish: Refers to all branches of Judaism.

Other: Refers to all other religious groups, such as spiritualists, or Muslims. This category also included several new religious groups in the 1800s which held to some Christian tenants but which had their own additional holy books and prophets, and whose views were generally viewed as heretical by the some of the predominantly Protestant community at the time. This includes the Christian Science and Mormon groups.

Christian: This notation was used only for stories which referred to clergy or pastors, but which were not clear whether they were Protestant, Orthodox or Catholic. For example, stories in which Methodists were mentioned, were noted as Protestant, but stories talking about an unspecified clergyman preaching would be coded as "Christian." This notation was also used if a story was about both Protestants and Catholics.

All: Used if a story applied to both Christian and Jewish groups. An example of this was an item announcing the production of an opera based on the biblical character of Saul or a book claiming to know the location of the ancient Tower of Babel.

Unknown: If the religious group was undetectable, it was noted as unknown.

6.) SUBJECT: The content of the stories was categorized both according to the dominant subject of the religious item. The subject categories were adapted from Buddenbaum[35] to accommodate content in existence in 1867 that is not prevalent now. The 13 categories for subjects were as follows:

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[34] For example, although in 1992 it is rare to find a story of 1 inch or less in a newspaper, there were many such items in the newspapers between the years 1865 of 1898. In addition, it seemed more important to have more distinctions between shorter stories, than for longer stories, since the shorter stories were more common and it seems reasonable that the shorter length would suggest a less informative, less complete story than a longer one. Although the assignment of increments was in part arbitrary, the breakdown used seemed both logical and useful. Exact column length was not measured, since all the newspapers analyzed were on microfilm and computing the actual column sizes with accuracy would be impossible without the actual newspapers.

[35] Buddenbaum, Analysis of religion news coverage," 600-606.

Academia/Scholarship: News about discoveries and developments affecting the formal study of a religion, or information about theological schools or faculty.

Announcements: Brief items that announce up-coming events and meetings, such as a choir programs or announcing the topic or time of a sermon.

Beliefs/Practices/Rituals: Stories that are predominantly about a group or person's beliefs or practices. This category includes stories elaborating on the meaning of a biblical passage, for example, or a story about debate on communion practices. The Mormon practice of polygamy, an issue of debate in 1882, was included here rather than in the "issue" category.

Books/Music: Includes items about books or music that are not announcements of an upcoming musical or book-related events.

Crimes/Violence/Courts: Stories that describe an act of violence or crime to or by a religious group, house of worship or person. Destructive but possibly non-intentional events, such as fires also were included in this category.

Holidays: Religion stories discussing the events or traditions of a religious or secular holiday, when it involved the participation of a religious group or leader. This included stories about St. Patrick's Day, Easter and Thanksgiving.

Humor/Amusement: Items that are printed primarily for their entertainment value, such as a joke or a saying, which frequently do not make reference to a specific person or religious institution by name.

Issues: Content that is primarily political and not related to a group's specific beliefs or practices, such as stories about clergy objections to the operation of railroad cars on Sunday.

Missionaries/Social Acts: Stories that focus on the actions of a group to proselytize or socially assist others, especially in another country. The adoption of money for missionary purposes, however, was included in the operations category.

Operations: Stories focusing on the routine operation of a religious group or organization, including the adoption of budgets, regardless of their purpose. Also included here were reports of meetings that occurred, such as prayer meetings, worship services and denominational gatherings. Stories discussing the hiring or firing of religious leaders and maintenance to church buildings were included in this category.

Other: Stories not fitting into any of these categories,

Personalities: Stories that focus on a specific person and their life outside of that person's duties associated with a religious institution. A story about a minister's illness or death were included here.

Places/Things: Items focusing on a place that has religious significance or value, or a non-human object of similar importance.

7.) FORM

The stories were coded for journalistic format. These categories were as follows:

Editorials/Columns: Used only for those stories that were obviously editorial content. Because opinion was often merged into reports of events at the time, this category only applied to strongly worded opinion encouraging specific actions or viewpoints and located in a column or on a page with other opinion-oriented copy.

Features: Non-event-oriented articles that tended to be profiles of people, places or things without any obvious time angle.

Fiction: Stories that are obviously fictional, with the exception of jokes and sayings, in which the veracity of the information is unknown.

Jokes/Sayings: Used for items describing either routine events that provide a humorous perspective, or unusual events that by their circumstances are humorous. Generally included stories in which the subjects or church are not specifically identified and which might be fictional. Also includes truisms that may not be humorous but might be described as words of wisdom.

Reviews: Reviews of religious books or musical performances.

Sermon Summaries: Includes stories about the content of sermons already delivered. Excludes announcements of upcoming sermons, which were coded as "Standard" coverage.

Standard: Used to describe stories about upcoming events or those that have occurred, such as meetings or pronouncements. These stories are routine, news-oriented reporting, with the exception of sermon summaries.

Other: Religion items not included in the above formats of stories, such as poems and letters to the editor.

Appendix B

Included here are summary frequencies for all religion stories coded, for each variable.

Table 1 Breakdown by day of the week

	Frequency	Percent
Sunday	59	3.9
Monday	195	12.8
Tuesday	146	9.6
Wednesday	155	10.2
Thursday	124	8.2
Friday	139	9.2
Saturday	700	46.1
Total	1,518	100

X^2=1302; d.f.=6; p<.001

Table 2 Breakdown by story format

	Frequency	Percent
Editorials	16	1.1
Jokes	65	4.3
Features	19	1.3
Fiction	5	.3
Other	26	1.7
Review	4	.3
Sermons	42	2.8
Standard	1341	88.3
Total	1,518	100

X^2=7997.7; d.f. =7; p<.001

Table 3 Type of headline

	Frequency	Percent
Own Head	466	30.7
No Head	100	6.6
Column Head	952	62.7
Total	1,518	100

X^2=722.040; d.f. =2; p<.001

Table 4 Story length

	Frequency	Percent
Under 1 Inch	1,034	68.2
Short	367	24.2
Medium	49	3.2
Long	44	2.9
Very Long	24	1.6
Total	1,518	100

X^2=2463.417; d.f. =4; p<.001

Table 5 Origin of story

	Frequency	Percent
Local	949	62.5
Not Local	455	30.0
Unknown	114	7.5
Total	1,518	100

X^2=696.668; d.f. =2; p<.001

Table 6 Location of story

	Frequency	Percent
Front Page	191	12.6
Inside Page	1327	87.4
Total	1,518	100

X^2=880.129; d.f. =1; p<.001

Table 7 Year of story

	Frequency	Percent
1867	167	11.0
1882	420	27.7
1897	931	61.3
Total	1,518	100

X^2=990.7; d.f. =2; p<.001

Table 8 Religion of story subject

	Frequency	Percent
Protestant	906	59.7
Catholic	171	11.3
Orthodox	7	.5
Jewish	12	.8
Christian (Unspecified)	337	22.2
Other	68	4.5
Unknown	6	.4
Several Faiths	11	.8
Total	1,518	100

X^2=4214.075; d.f. =7; p<.001

Table 9 Subject of story

	Frequency	Percent
Academic	29	1.9
Announcement	647	42.6
Beliefs and Practices	158	10.4
Books and Music	15	1.0
Crime and Violence	53	3.5
Holidays	53	3.5
Humor and Amusements	69	4.5
Issues	76	5.0
Missions	21	1.4
Routine Operations	328	21.6
Personalities	60	4.0
Places	9	.6
Total	1,518	100

X^2=3097.092; d.f. =11; p<.001

Table 10 Newspaper in which story appeared

	Frequency	Percent
CPD	444	29.2
OSJ	540	35.6
TOB	534	35.2

X^2=11.43; d.f. =2; p<.01

"Who Was 'Shadow'?" The Computer Knows: Using Grammar-Program Statistics in Content Analyses Finally May Solve This Civil War Riddle and Other Writing Mysteries

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Abstract

The object of this study was to use the statistics-documentation portion of a word-processing program's grammar-check feature as a final, definitive and objective tool for content analyses performed in qualitative investigations to irrevocably rule out John H. Linebaugh, John B. Dumble, or John Reid McClanahan as being the Civil War special correspondent who wrote for many newspapers under the pseudonym of "Shadow". An enduring and intriguing mystery for journalism historians, "Shadow's" identity has never been discovered although Linebaugh was a leading candidate for a time. On the *Appeal*, Linebaugh was an editorial writer and, briefly, the "special" who wrote as "Ashantee;" Dumble was an assistant editor and McClanahan, the senior proprietor, senior editor and chief editorial writer.

One of the intriguing, unsolved mysteries for some specialists in Civil War journalism has been deducing who hid behind the pseudonym of "Shadow" in a period when Confederate free-lance war correspondents originally used pen names to avert harassment, military confinement, or publishers' proscriptions against "double-dipping". Their postings, focus, knowledgeability, and writing styles were well familiar to millions of readers, much like World War II's Ernie Pyle. They were circulation builders to publishers who could afford "stars" like Felix de Fontaine ("Personne," "Quel Qu'un"), Peter Wellington Alexander ("P.W.A.," "A," "Sallust"), Samuel Chester Reid, Jr. ("Sparta," "Ora," "290"), and "Shadow," whose identity went to the grave with the many publishers who paid for his incisive commentaries about military affairs, essentially on the Western front with the Army of Tennessee and commanders Braxton Bragg, Joe Johnston, and John B. Hood. [1]

These forerunners of syndicated columnists had friends and foes--President Jefferson Davis to Confederate legislators, privates to generals (of both armies) such as Braxton Bragg who alternated between cultivating a private press agent like publisher John Forsythe of the *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register* and locking up lesser lights like soldier-correspondent William W. Screws. [2]

As journalism historian Frank Luther Mott commented about such enforced anonymity: "[It] had one effect not contemplated: it made the pen names of many war 'specials' nationally famous." [3]

Scholars like J. Cutler Andrews ferreted out the identities of fifty-five who chose colorful bylines ranging from "Mint Julep," "N'Importe," and "Dixie" to "B," "Grapeshot," and "Se De Kay." But he and other investigators were frustrated and confounded about the famed "Shadow". [4]

"Shadow" was well informed, plain spoken, and as ubiquitous as the Confederate cavalry's Scarlet Pimpernel, General Nathan Bedford Forrest. His column appeared first with *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, in June 1863, then the *Mobile Register and Advertiser*--and probably was well pirated. [5]

Historian Thomas H. Baker was among many who concluded that John H. Linebaugh was "Shadow." [6] Linebaugh was the *Appeal*'s bloviating Poe-like stringer "Ashantee," who eschewed trenches and fled the field when the first shell hit Chattanooga in 1863—highly uncharacteristic of "Shadow" or others. [7] Baker may have been influenced by *CommercialAppeal* writer George Sisler who in 1957 penned an undocumented historical journal article about Bragg's jailing Linebaugh for treason. To underpin the article's thrust that Linebaugh was a long-time thorn in Bragg's side, he doctored documentation and credited Linebaugh, a fiftyish civilian, not only with "Shadow's" work, but that of six other correspondents: "Leigh," "Ramrod," "Harvey," "Waverly," "Special," all in the army, and "Wanderer." [8]

Andrews's far more credible qualitative investigation of Linebaugh's life ruled him out as "Shadow," but narrowed suspects to Stephen Tillinghast Hammond, Dr. Fielding Travis Powell, Albert Roberts, and, especially, Henry Watterson. Andrews' surrender note to peers said: ". . . I leave the resolution of this fascinating and as yet unsolved problem of identity to any other historians who may be interested." [9]

The computer, in general, and the document-statistics portion from certain grammar programs, in particular, now make it possible for scholars in many disciplines to provide the final test—definitive and objective quantitative content analysis—to extensive qualitative content analyses aimed either at solving age-old riddles about authors like "Shadow" or in characterizing writing styles.

The inclusion of quantitative measurement by the computer in content analyses, eliminating subjectivity save for excerpt selections, can provide substantial underpinnings to qualitative efforts; and it is available to anyone with a word-processing program that includes a grammar check.

In the past year alone, many academicians have seen the potential of fine-tuned programs such as Que Software's *Rightwriter* and Lifetree Software's *Correct Grammar*, for they quantify words used per sentence, sentences per paragraph, number of syllables, and at least two Flesch readability scales.

This particular study utilized the computerized grammar statistics to underpin an already overwhelming case built on qualitative evidence to prove the hypotheses that Linebaugh was *not* "Shadow" and, secondly, that he did not write any of the other columns Sisler attributed to him. [10] The project was a byproduct of a larger, ongoing study connected to a book on the *Appeal*'s wartime travels. That study's aim was to determine which editorials were written by the newspaper's senior partner and editor-in-chief, John Reid McClanahan, during 1864-65.

Literature Search

The literature concerning quantitative analysis to determine authorship is remarkably slim when contrasted with the monumental body of work since the Eighteenth century, principally conducted in an array of disciplines from censorship, psychology and the social sciences to politics, espionage, and marketing effectiveness. [11] Literary analyses of known author's styles scrutinized by quantitative methods certainly have been ongoing since Sherman's 1888 investigation of sentence length in literature [12] and Markov's 1913 study of Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* [13] and, in the last half of this century by Miles examination of poetic diction in 1946,[14] Schorer's 1949 study of the works of Jane Austen, Emily Brontë, and George Eliot [15] and Parrish and Painter's concordance compilations for the writings of Matthew Arnold and William Butler Yeats. [16]

Judging from the conclusions drawn in many of these studies, investigators appear to have embraced the view that the words reveal the author, a perception noted long ago by Lee (and thousands of editors):

> The real revelation of the writer (as of the artist) comes in a far subtler way than by . . .autobiography; and comes despite all effort to elude it; . . . .For what the writer does communicate is his temperament, his organic personality, with its preferences and aversions, its pace and rhythm and impact and balance, its swiftness or languor . . . and this he does equally whether he be rehearsing veraciously his own concerns or inventing someone else's. [17]

Thus, there is Garraty noting president Woodrow Wilson's predilection for adjectives [18] and, in 1940, Boder's measuring the emotional instability of Ralph Waldo Emerson and William James according to a ratio of adjectives to verbs [19] Both studies, combined with Busemann's system of dividing active ideas by qualitative ones and the prevalent use of Flesch's readability measures, lay the groundwork in modalities helpful to the determination of authorship.

One interesting sidelight for journalists to the foregoing is that the nation's key readability experts were hired by the wire services in the 1940s as consultants to improve writing standards—Rudolph Flesch and W. A. Danielson for the Associated Press and Robert Gunning for United Press. [20]

Perhaps because prior to the computer, a content analysis was laborious, tedious, expensive, and subjective, few investigators had the inclination or energies to apply it to determination of authorship where far greater pitfalls lay in wait than, say, with a study about poor semantics relationship to crankiness and paranoia [21] , or those on language in annual reports, collective-bargaining agreements or insurance policies. [22]

One significant pitfall in validity of data, listed years ago by Berelson, was sampling.[23] Samples can either be too small or, if they are monumental, Garraty's caveat about subjectivity can adversely impact a study's merit as it involves decisions as to what excerpts to include, categorization, accurate coding, weighting of subjects, to say nothing of cultural writing styles,[24] authors employing several distinct styles to suit publishers and the potential for the subject to employ ghost writers; if teachers traditionally have been reluctant to charge a pupil with plagiarism even with a preponderance of damning evidence, what scholar is likely to venture the hypothesis that John F. Kennedy's *Profiles in Courage* was ghost written?

Such inhibiting factors may have had bearing on why only two stellar investigations on determination of authorship are perennially cited: Spurgeon's 1935 work on William Shakespeare, and Mosteller and Wallace's 1964 efforts on the *Federalist Papers*. Both were pre-computer age and done with the laborious, tedious, expensive, and subjective methods of manual computation—plus the potential for selection flaws in sampling.

Nevertheless, Spurgeon's research generally is accorded the stature of being the singular pioneer qualitative *and* quantitative content analysis on author determination. Essentially, her aim was to characterize the *oeuvre* of Shakespeare, but, secondarily, to verify his authorship of certain works.

She sought to end the four-hundred year old controversy that much credited to the Bard was written by Francis Bacon, Christopher Marlowe, Ben Jonson, George Chapman, Thomas Dekker, or Philip Massinger. [25]

Her measurements involved comparative frequencies and types of imagery. [26] When Mosteller and Wallace, in 1964, set out to sort out the portions of the *Federalist Papers* written by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, it would appear they faced the same challenges and somewhat similar methodology. They had the additional advantage of considerable writing samples for that study.

Like forensics experts in science or police investigation, the three researchers buttressed their findings by integrating qualitative with quantitative research, for they knew their disciplines had legions of doubters; that their discoveries have been largely ignored would seem to attest to that concern [27] perhaps because the researchers perceived this additional step would support their venture into what is largely forensic work familiar to detectives. The plethora of readability formulas available today—Flesch, Gunning, Cloze, McLaughlin, et al.—and both the computer and grammar-check programs would have enhanced validity and simpified their exhaustive and exhausting efforts. [28]

Computer-aided analyses have been in existence almost from the instant in the 1950s the Berelsons recognized the value of Univac and had graduate assistants punch data into IBM cards. With the advent of software that performed word counts and applied the Flesch reading test, Sebeok and Zeps and their computerized examination of four thousand Cheremis folk stories opened the floodgates to this new research tool. [29] By 1962, Stone and Bales, et al. had designed the General Inquirer system for the social science and psychology fields that, with its special set of dictionaries, could do counts, retrieve data, and tabulate words. [30] Two years later, Sedelow and Sedelow were presenting a landmark paper on computational stylistics at an IBM Literary Data Processing Conference. [31]

Almost simultaneously, software designers were producing programs like WORDS with functions of sorting, editing, and statistical analysis, essentially geared for psychotherapy. For literary research there was VIA (Verbally Indexed Associations) which also sorted words, grouped data by root and could perform frequency counts; among its initial projects was an analysis of *Hamlet*. [32] Then came fine-tuning with 1975 programs like TEXAN which analyzed syllables. [33]

Today, researchers have progressed far beyond word counts and wrestling with homographs and overcoming ambiguity in project design. [34] Investigators like Danielson, Lasorsa and Im have been using computers to pioneer comparative writing styles of books and newspapers to reveal the decline of readability; they appear to be the first to utilize the grammar-check feature, their analysis based solely on the Flesch Reading Ease scores. [35]

To respond to essentially the same tacit criticisms undoubtedly received by Spurgeon, Mosteller and Wallace, they argued: "Objections to the use of mechanistic formulas to evaluate how easy it is to read a piece of prose have existed since the introduction of the first equation and probably will continue to persist, regardless of how sucessfully these mathematical equations perform. Since no better methods for assessing readability have been offered, we are more willing to accept the illumination offered by these formulas than to curse the darkness." [36] However, they did not underpin their quantitative research with qualitative analysis, as did Spurgeon; nor did they use this new method of measurement to determine authorship. Yet the ability to do the tedious investigative work of Spurgeon now is available to any scholar with a laptop computer and software containing a grammar-check feature; or to use more than one to underpin quantitative findings, as was done in this project.

Methods

Data from this period are incomplete and fragmented. The ongoing war and the passing years have destroyed most of the best evidence. There will be no overwhelming piece of evidence in this study to identify "Shadow." A mixture of methods was necessary, and this study used three. First, primary sources identified the location and activities of the major suspects in this decades-old puzzle. Second, writing styles were analyzed qualitatively. Finally, computer analyses of known writing samples helped quantitatively to identify differences in writing styles. No method alone was enough to identify "Shadow" positively. Andrews' challenge still stands. But the investigators sought to positively rule out Linebaugh quantitatively as Andrews once did qualitatively.

The qualitative methods to refute Sisler's assumptions about Linebaugh's work utilized prior to the application of quantitative measurements of Linebaugh, "Shadow," "Leigh," "Waverly," and "Wanderer," basically involved several modalities beyond what the literature furnished about Linebaugh's life.

Initially, there was an examination of his filings as "Ashantee" and those attributed to him from Bragg's Florida campaigns of 1861 and General John B. Hood's surrender of Atlanta to General William T. Sherman in September 1864. This content analysis focused on story type (feature or hard-news), assignment posting, topics, viewpoint, analogies and examples, diction, sentence length, dateline, and method of transmission (the penurious McClanahan permitted only the privileged to use the telegraph).

Research also entailed a comparison of Sisler's presentation of Linebaugh's purported excerpts to the original stories in *The Memphis Daily Appeal* and a literature search to determine Bragg's relationships with individual reporters in terms of harassment, litigation, incarceration, or cultivation.

This sizable body of evidence strongly indicated Linebaugh wrote only the "Ashantee" articles and that significant and intentional errors permeated Sisler's 1957 work, an article subsequently used perhaps by many scholars for conclusions about *The Memphis Daily Appeal*'s 1862-65 hegira around the South as it fled Grant and Sherman's armies; for nearly four decades, it may have significantly contributed to many of the myths surrounding that famous "run".

Andrews's most compelling argument in his qualitative efforts to rule out Linebaugh as being "Shadow" is contained in an entire chapter of his definitive reportorial study *The South Reports the Civil War*. He noted that "Shadow's" column in the *Mobile Register* on May 28, 1864 identified himself as "the captain of a company of Confederate pikemen at Nashville after the fall of Fort Donelson in February 1862." This ruled out McClanahan and Dumble, both well over conscription age and definitely tied to the *Appeal*'s production as it moved from Memphis to Grenada, Mississippi, to Jackson, then to Atlanta and, finally, to Montgomery.[37] Linebaugh was fifty-one in the following year[38] when Bragg had him imprisoned for treason, and when released, he raged: "…as a citizen I was not subject to military arrest…" [39]

Andrews also pointed out that Linebaugh drowned October 26, 1864 in the Alabama River, yet: "Exactly one month and a day after Linebaugh's death the *Mobile Register* published another letter from "Shadow" that was dated at Florence, Alabama on November 23, 1864." What Andrews failed to do was a content analyses of the writing of both men, where the style, vocabularies, subject and attitudes are totally dissimilar. Linebaugh, a defrocked Episcopal priest, [40]was a pretentious showoff, fond of studding his filings with foreign expressions (*"voltigeur," "lucus anon luccende"*[41]), arcane historical allusions, and preachments; he repelled the *Appeal*'s thousands of Army readers he was supposed to be attracting with this typical sentence:

> That this occultation was to be expected, as the necessary prelude, nay, presage of our independence was the prophesy of the thoughtful and it is only those who knew not what revolution meant, or supposed it was a transition from one dream of criminal or inglorious repose to another, those who knew nothing of freedom in its aspects of dignity, and were willing to take servitude, even the degraded servitude of superimposed Yankee domination if it were gilded with wealth, or attended by an emasculate or traitorous enjoyment of delegated prosperity, in preference to the noble enjoyment of mental, moral, and political independence—the independence of a free-born heart, mind and will—who are cast down; so much cast down as to be now willing to make terms of peace upon condition of preserving a mess of miserable potage. [42]

By contrast, "Shadow" never used foreign expression, elevated diction, religious, historical, or literary allusions. His readers had no difficulty with:

> The hills surrounding this war-like village are being fortified, of course. Perhaps the purpose is to keep the men employed, more than for any other design. Chattanooga is already defensible enough, naturally. Besides there is not much ! kellhoo! that it will ever be attacked. No point on the border is safer from raids. Its surroundings are admirably adapted for successful defense. The river in its bend from the base of Lookout mountain, almost encircles it, leaving but a short space of perhaps half a mile or more from one bend to the other, which might be traced with a line of earthworks, which would render it a complete fortress. The hills of Chattanooga, ascending from the river, are higher than those of Vicksburg, and command the opposite bank for miles back to the base of the Cumberland range. [43]

Computer Analysis

The goal of this stage was to quantitatively identify difference in writing styles. To eliminate bias, the analysis was performed by a separate researcher — one who had *not* read the original works. The computer could quickly and blindly perform standard readability analysis.

```
Correct Grammar Readability Analysis
Document: Sample Results

Paragraphs:                    7
Sentences:                    49      (7.0 per paragraph)
Words:                      1093      (22.3 per sentence)
Letters:                    4908      (4.4 per word)
Syllables per 100 words: 148

Passive sentences:            13      (26 % passive)
Long sentences:                0      (0 % long)

Misspelled words:              0      (100 % correct)
Sentences fixed:               0      (100 % correct)
Sentences hard to read:        0      (100 % correct)

Flesch Reading Ease score:58.7        (Fairly Easy)
Grade level required:         10      (85 % of U.S. adults)
Flesch-Kincaid grade level:           10.6
Gunning Fog Index:             13.6
```

Although, primary evidence and previous literature pointed to Linebaugh, the tests performed on the data also included Dumble and McClanahan as a test of the method. Known writing samples of each person were collected and entered into computer text files.[44] Samples were defined as whole articles known to be written by each subject (headlines omitted). To meet the requirements of readability tests, samples less than 100 words were dropped. Two other samples were dropped because poor copies made it impossible to determine intended punctuation.

The program *Correct Grammar for the Macintosh* (version 3.0.1, © 1992, Writing Tools Group) was used for the analysis. The program was set to analyze readability only and to produce a results file for each sample (see example above). A macro program was used to copy data from the results files into a *Microsoft Excel* Spreadsheet.[45]

The next step was to pick measurements. Three readability scores were chosen: Flesch Reading Ease; Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level; and Gunning-Fog Index. These scores measured readability in different slightly different ways.[46] In addition, four other measures were found to be an important difference from a preliminary qualitative analysis: Letters-per-word; Words-per-sentence; Sentences-per-paragraph, and the Percent of Passive sentences.

A simple t-test (two-tailed, assuming unequal variances) was performed in *Excel* on each measure to determine likelihood that the writing samples came from different authors. In each case, the null hypotheses was "The writing samples came from the same author."

There are important limitations to the quantitative analysis.

First, it was impossible to get writing samples from everyone in the Confederacy's press corps. So it is always possible that someone else could have been "Shadow." The most that this study could do was to show that certain authors had distinctly different writing styles from "Shadow."

Second, known writing samples and documentation of authorship have been lost over the years. We acknowledge that the number of samples for this study is *too small* to be *completely reliable*. At best, these numbers only give an indication of who had a roughly similar writing style. More samples could have been created by taking multiple samples of 100 words, from each known article. This option was rejected because it would have given too much weight to longer articles.

Third, the readability formulas are using mid-1900 standards to judge mid-1800 writing. Some of the tests depend on the counting syllables that may have been different or unrecognizable in writing of this period. Test results will be useful to the point that they give relative difficulty and show consistent differences across measures.

Finally, there may be other reasons why "Shadow's" writing is different from the subjects. The author could have intended "Shadow's" works for a different audience and intentionally wrote differently. "Shadow's" stories may have been produced for a different purpose (e.g., hard news versus commentaries) and accidentally been written differently. Or the author may have tried to hide the source of "Shadow's" work by altering the style.

Results

Appendix A has the complete results. This section will only summarize findings. The three readability measures yielded consistent results. Each measure identified "Shadow" as an easier read than Dumble, Linebaugh, or McClanahan. In all cases but one, the t-test found the difference significant at the 0.01 level of reliability.

Table 1
Readability Test Results

	Flesch Reading Ease Scale	Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level	Gunning-Fog Grade Level
"Shadow"	53.2	11.2	13.2
McClanahan	51.1	12.7 *	15.6 *
Dumble	48.7 *	12.9 *	15.7 *
Linebaugh	43.0 *	14.5 *	16.9 *

*Indicates significantly different from "Shadow" at a 0.01 level of reliability

Despite the reading ease scores, the data suggest that "Shadow" used longer words than the subjects. McClanahan used the shortest words (4.5 letters/word) on the average with a difference that was significant at the 0.01 level. Dumble's words were only slightly longer (4.6 letters/word) and still significantly different (0.02 level). It was not possible to show a significant difference between Linebaugh's and "Shadow's" word length (4.7 and 4.8 characters per word, respectively).

Figure 1
Average Letters per Word[47]

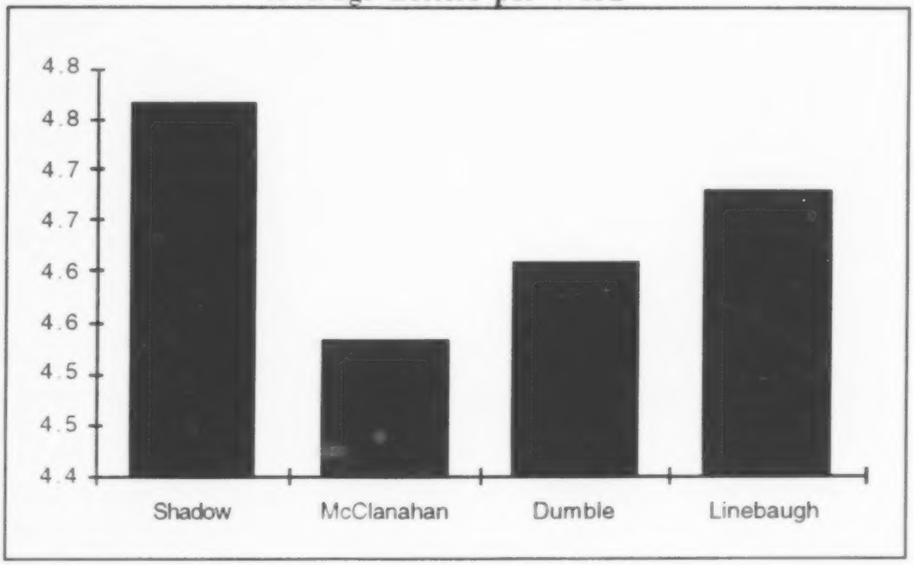
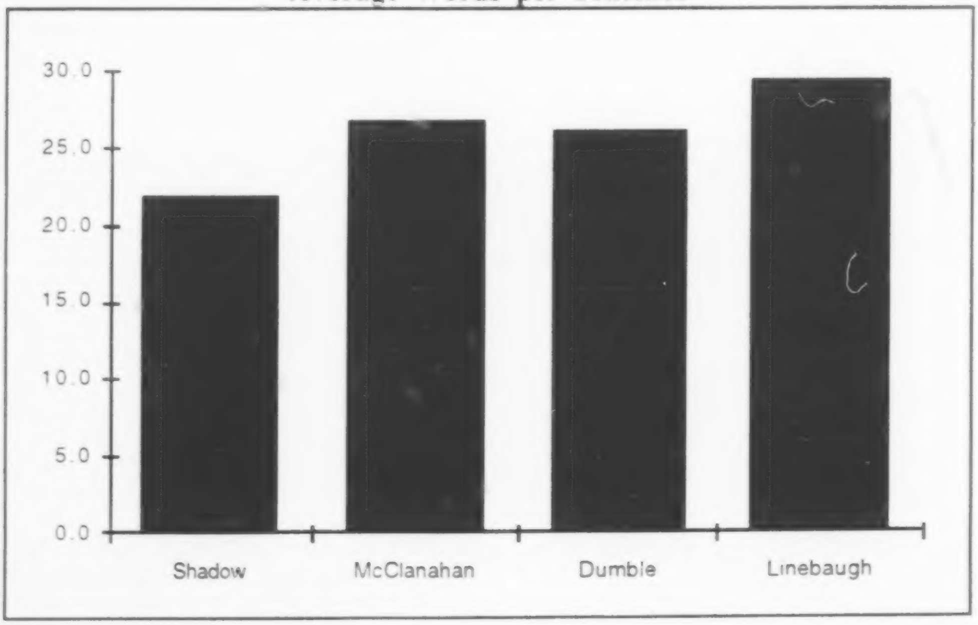


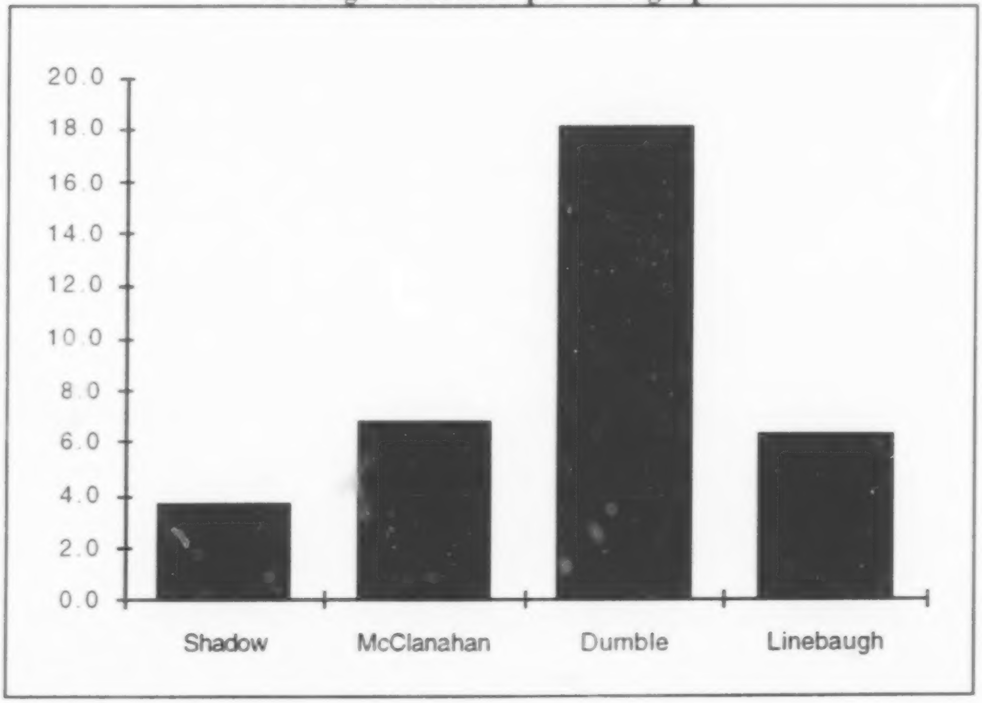
Figure 2
Average Words per Sentence



"Shadow" may have used longer words, but had fewer of them per sentence (see Figure 2). "Shadow's" sentences were significantly shorter than the subjects (all at the 0.01 level). While "Shadow's" work averaged only 21.9 words per sentence. Linebaugh composed at a rate of 29.4 words per sentence. The sentences of McClanahan and Dumble were also longer with a somewhat more compact 26.8 and 26.1 words per sentence, respectively.

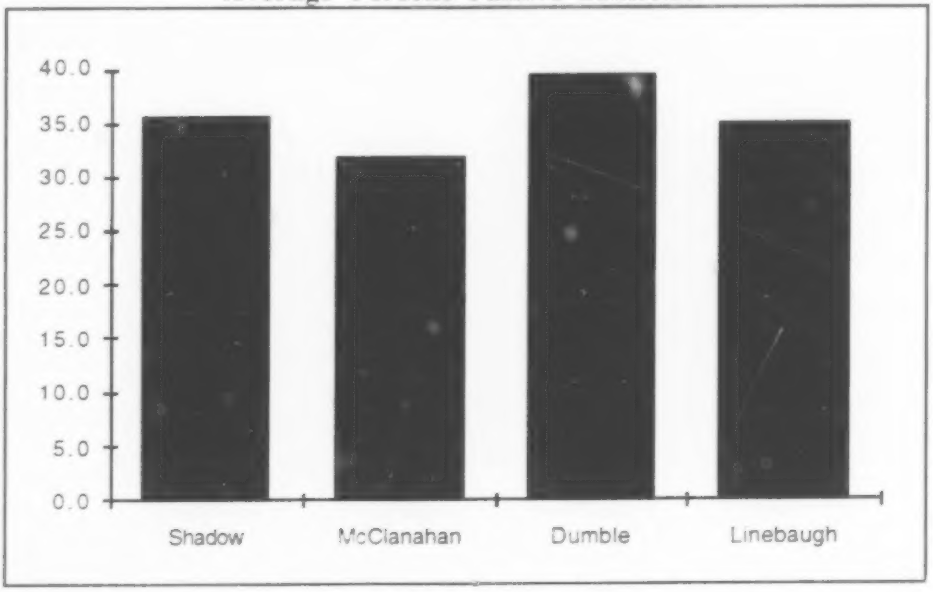
Again, "Shadow" shows significantly (all at the 0.01 level) more economy in sentences per paragraph. "Shadow's" 3.7 sentences per paragraph were downright Spartan compared to Dumble's 18.0. McClanahan and Linebaugh used nearly double the number of sentences per paragraph (6.8 and 6.3 respectively) as "Shadow."

Figure 3
Average Sentences per Paragraph



Unlike other measures, no significant differences were found in the use of passive voice. Percent Passive ranged from 31.6% for McClanahan to 39.6% for Dumble. "Shadow" (35.6%) and Linebaugh (34.9) were nearly identical. Wide variation in the use of passive voice made this measure less discriminating — particularly considering the small sample size.

Figure 4
Average Percent Passive Sentences



Discussion

The quantitative analysis is cold and unfeeling compared to the emotion of the authors' words. In this study, quantitative analysis disclosed some significant difference that may have been missed otherwise. Clearly, "Shadow's" writing style differed from Linebaugh, once considered to be a prime suspect. The differences are just as clear with Dumble and McClanahan. From these data, it is time to broaden the search for "Shadow."

In general, the quantitative data suggests that "Shadow" wrote simply. The suggested grade level for "Shadow's" work was lower than the subjects. "Shadow" used shorter sentences and shorter paragraphs. "Shadow's" longer word length may have been due to a greater use of proper nouns (e.g., *Rappahannock* and *gubernatorial*) and titles. The simpler writing style may suggest a less educated, less able author, but the passive voice measure discounts that somewhat. "Shadow" was able to communicate in a crisp writing style, yet not use passive voice any more than other authors.

Recommendations for future use of the method

Readability analysis is not definitive. It is simply one tool out of many for the historian and should be used as such. Small sample size and the possibility of deception on the original players make it less reliable than quantitative analysis in other areas of research. Still, when properly applied, it can provide previously unavailable evidence. With desktop computers and grammar checking programs, it can be quick and simple.

The person wishing to do readability analysis may consider the following suggestions. First, keep in mind that the computer is best at doing redundant repetitive tasks. A good macro program and a properly written macro can save the researcher (or an assistant) hours of mind-numbing work.

Second, data produced by the computer should never have to be typed into the computer. Re-keying data introduces human error and rounding errors. The computer does not misplace a decimal or mind holding endless fractions that the human operator would quickly round-off. In Figure 1 above, the y-axis the graphing program remembered fractions long forgotten by the researcher and produced a more accurate graph.

Third, choose your programs carefully for ability and inter-operability. These days there is no reason why data should not be transferable from one program to another. This project was done almost entirely on Microsoft products (Word, Works, Excel). Simple transfer of data from word processing to data analysis save time and trouble.

For this project, a stand-alone grammar checking program was found to be more useful than those embedded in the word processor. Even though Microsoft Word (version 5.1a) uses Correct Grammar as its grammar checking subroutine, the separate program Correct Grammar offered more choices and the ability to output data into text files.

Finally, it is vital to get as many writing samples as possible. It is difficult to get reliable statistics from small samples. Ideally, the researcher must find a consistently large set of writing samples for all subjects.

Conclusion

No one knows for certain yet who "Shadow" was, but the quantitative content analyses, coupled with the qualitative research data, strongly suggests that this "special" correspondent definitely was *not* Linebaugh. Further, the inclusion of McClanahan and Dumble in the quantitative portion demonstrates how authorship determination can be accomplished by journalism historians. Andrews posited that Henry Watterson, later the long-time proprietor and editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, was the "most likely" candidate. [48] Watterson had been on the staff of the *New York Times* and the Washington *Daily States* by the time he joined the Confederate army; before the war ended, he had been an editor on the *Chattanooga Rebel*, and the *Montgomery Daily Mail*. [49] Thus, there are more than sufficient samples—lengthy or brief—of this period of his writings that may be compared with "Shadow's" contributions to the *Appeal* and, chiefly, the Mobile *Register and Advertiser*. [50]

So identifying "Shadow" is a mystery still as ripe as when a frustrated Andrews threw down that challenge to the next generation of academic sleuths. Indeed, the computer makes determination of authorship or authors' characteristics possible for many other disciplines than journalism history.

Discoveries to age-old riddles today are at the researchers' fingertips and can be made in the comfort of their offices or homes, resting as they do on statistical data furnished by the grammar-check portions of an array of word-processing programs.

Endnotes

[1] Frank Luther Mott. *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years 1690 to 1940* (New York: Macmillan. 1949). 330. 336. 338; Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter. *Voices of a Nation: A History of the Media in the United States.* 1st ed. (New York: Macmillan. 1989). 210. 213.

[2] Judith Lee Hallock. *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat.* (Tuscaloosa. Ala.: The University of Alabama Press. 1991) 2: 89. 216. 231; J. Cutler Andrews. *TheSouth Reports theWar* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1970). 248-51. 236.

[3] Mott. *American Journalism.* 338.

[4] Andrews. *South Reports War* . 543-547. Their identities were. respectively. Capt. Theodoric Carter who wrote for the *Chattanooga Daily Rebel* and the *Montgomery Daily Mail*; Albert J. Street. *Savannah Republican. Memphis Daily Appeal. Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*; John R. Thompson. *Memphis Daily Appeal*; William D. Barr. *Memphis Daily Appeal*; W. B. Galbreath. *Memphis Daily Appeal*; and Charles D. Kirk. *Chattanooga Daily Rebel. Memphis Daily Appeal. Louisville Daily Courier. Augusta Daily Constitutionalist.*

[5] Andrews. *South Reports War.* 248-51: *The Memphis Daily Appeal.* 6. 12. 13. 17. 20. 25. 27. 30 June 1863; 1. 3. 4. 14. 15. 16 July 1863.

[6] Thomas H. Baker. "Refugee Newspaper: The Memphis Daily Appeal. 1862-1865." *Journal of Southern History*.29. 335 (November 1966).

[7] *The Memphis Daily Appeal.* 18. 20 July 1863; 31 Aug. 1863; 5. 7.8. 12. 16.17. 22. September 1863; ibid.6. 12. 13. 17. 20. 25. 27. 30 June 1863; 1. 3. 4. 14. 15. 16 July 1863.

[8] George Sisler. "The Arrest of a Memphis Daily Appeal War Correspondent on Charges of Treason." *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers* .11. 76-92 (1957).

[99] Andrews. *South Reports War.* 543-47; "Leigh" was a gunner with Col. John W. A. Sanford's battery commanded by Brig.-Gen. James R. Chalmers; "Ramrod" was a soldier-correspondent covering Northeast Mississippi (*The Memphis Daily Appeal.* 14. 16 October 1862); "Harvey" was infantry Captain J. Harvey Mathes. (Baker. *The Memphis Commercial Appeal: The History of a Southern Newspaper* [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1971),199; "Waverly" was in the cavalry (*The Memphis Daily Appeal.* May-June 1864. passim); and "Special." was with Gen. William B. Bate's division (*The Memphis Daily Appeal.* 16. 18 June 1864).

[10] Some of the qualitative research was based on Andrews's cursory primary data about Linebaugh's life and that writer's communications with Confederate Vice President Alexander H. Stephens. and items concerning his whereabouts and death that appeared in the *Appeal.* However. the major effort of this project's chief investigator centered on a minute qualitative content analyses of Linebaugh's "Ashantee" columns. the knowledge of *Appeal* management and editorial policies. and the familiarity with assignment beats. content. scope and writing styles of the newspaper's dozens of war correspondents.

For instance. Sisler claimed that Linebaugh began to cover Bragg for the *Appeal* in the 1861 Florida campaign. beginning with the raid against Santa Rosa Island. then the Kentucky campaign. and. finally. the Confederate army's retreat from Dalton to Atlanta. None of that data are true.

Sisler stated that Linebaugh sent exclusive dispatches from Florida to the *Appeal* with the dateline of Oct. 8. 1861. The newspaper had no correspondents' filings on this engagement, but did reprint dispatches from the *Mobile Advertiser and Register*—as well as those from the Press Association. the *New Orleans Delta.* the *Richmond Dispatch.*

The Kentucky. Middle and East Tennessee hard-news dispatches from Tupelo to Knoxville and Nashville in 1862 were reprints from the *Mobile Advertiser and Register.* Feature-story treatment of that campaign. exclusive to the *Appeal.* was provided by "Leigh" whose style generally was boyishly simple and personal. a departure from the detached. elitist rococo of "Ashantee".

"Leigh," not Linebaugh, covered Bragg's epic 715-mile march from Tupelo, Miss. to the battle at Munfordville, Ky., but Sisler credited his Oct. 16, 1863 dispatch to Linebaugh. He did the same thing with "Leigh's" and "Ramrod's" columns about the Perryville battle. Sisler also attributed to Linebaugh one of "Shadow's" files on Bragg's command appointment of both the armies of Kentucky and Mississippi (*The Memphis Daily Appeal*, 15 July 1863).

One of "Leigh's" best eyewitness accounts was the battle of Murfreesboro (which Sisler said Linebaugh wrote); at one point this Mississippian's ability to fire his cannon was impeded because he was splattered with the brains of a fellow artillerist (*The Memphis Daily Appeal*, 22 January 1863)—hardly in keeping with Linebaugh's aversion to battlefields

As "Leigh" began to indicate disillusionment with Bragg, Sisler also added that column to Linebaugh's string; he did the same with two additional filings by both "Leigh" and "Shadow" on Bragg's inertia in re-attacking Rosecrans at Murfreesboro (*The Memphis Daily Appeal*, 12 June 1863).

Linebaugh's debut in the *Appeal* was June 27, 1863 following the June 15 announcement that the newspaper had hired "an intelligent reporter" to cover "the front" of the Army of Tennessee, especially from headquarters; "Shadow's" first column appeared on June 6, 1863); for McClanahan to use two pseudonyms for one writer seems as unlikely as his using two correspondents for the same beat, given his publishing courage and common sense. What was more likely was that "Shadow" became troublesome to McClanahan, was dissatisfied with the *Appeal* or received a more attractive offer from Mobile publisher John Forsythe. Or that he took the assignment temporarily when the *Appeal* first settled in Atlanta with the understanding that McClanahan would find a replacement at summer's end. Curiously, Sisler never mentioned Linebaugh's pseudonym of "Ashantee"; instead, he identified him as "Shadow". But *both* bylines appear in the issues of June 27, June 30, and July 16 with "Shadow's" readable, soldiery style providing a distinct contrast from Linebaugh's attempts to replicate that of Addison and Steele. It was entirely possible, of course, for a publisher to protect an outspoken correspondent by phasing in a new pseudonym as he phases out another; "Shadow's" last dispatch to the *Appeal* was July 16, 1863. The appearance of three stories by "Ashantee" from Charleston and Augusta at the very time an *Appeal* editorialist said he was visiting an ailing daughter in North Alabama *does* hint of that kind of deliberate *legerdemain* by management in trying to conceal that Linebaugh had deserted his post following his first taste of war. Moreover, considering "Shadow's" popularity and "Ashantee's" lack of it, it would have made little business sense to the astute McClanahan to phase out the "Shadow" byline for "Ashantee".

"Shadow" continued to file for the *Mobile Advertiser and Register* after Linebaugh's resignation from the *Appeal* in February 1864. Linebaugh's death by drowning on July 26, 1864 (Andrews, *South Reports War*, 544) makes Sisler's claim of Atlanta coverage problematic.

Further, qualitative content analysis showed Linebaugh's exhibitionistic tendencies: a penchant for foreign expressions, historical allusions, complex vocabulary, and wordiness demonstrated in necklaces of prepositional phrases. Such a writing style was so singular that it was apparent who was writing some of the *Appeal*'s editorials during the winter of 1863-64. By contrast, "Shadow's" work is devoid of any of these patterns; he presented facts and events in the unadorned style of hard news and was equally as direct in drawing conclusions from such data.

In terms of journalistic skills, for all of his literary pretensions, Linebaugh's leads too often started with "the news from . . ." (*The Memphis Daily Appeal*, 31 August, 1863; 1, 3, 5 September 1863) while "Shadow" almost unfailingly used the "five-W" lead(*The Memphis Daily Appeal*, 12 June, 17 July 1863). Unlike "Shadow's" total focus on the front and obvious knowledge of military tactics and topography, Linebaugh's topics until his employment seemed threatened (when he used troop-movement information provided by a high-ranking friend) generally were on theoretical strategies, Greek mythology, Wellington minutia, or religious admonitions (*The Memphis Daily Appeal*, 5 September; 17 July 1863). Linebaugh also lacked news sense as when he failed to report his interview with the Jacksonian era's Duff Green, one-time editor of the *United States Telegraph* (22 August; 7 September 1863) or bolted under fire from a major scoop in the initial bombardment of Chattanooga (*The Memphis Daily Appeal*, 21 August 1863). "Shadow" also lacked Linebaugh's ascerbic meanness, demonstrated when the latter belittled a Georgia gubernatorial candidate (5 September 1863).

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[11] Krippendorff dates content analysis from the Swedish state church analyzing the Songs of Zion for heresy in the 18th century (Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980), 13.

[12] L. A. Sherman,"Some Observations Upon the Sentence-Length in English Prose," *University Studies of the University of Nebraska*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (1888), 119-130.

[13] Krippendorff, *Content Analysis,* 13.

[14] Josephine Miles, *The Vocabulary of Poetry* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946), 112.

[15] M. Schorer, "Fiction and the 'Matrix of Analogy'," *Kenyon Review,* 11, 539-60.

[16] S. M. Parrish, ed., *A Concordance to the Poems of Matthew Arnold* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959), 216; S. M. Parrish and J. A. Painter, *A Concordance to the Poems of W. B. Yeats* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univerity Press, 1963), 155.

[17] Vernon Lee, *The Handling of Words and Other Studies in Literary Psychology* (London: J. Lane, 1923), 155.

[18] Ithiel de Sola Pool, ed., *Trends in Content Analysis* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1959), 215.

[19] D. P. Boder, "The Adjective-Verb Quotient: A Contribution to the Psychology of Language," *Psychological Record,* 3, 310-343.

[20] Werner J. Severin and James W. Tankard, Jr., *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, and uses in the Mass Media,* 3d Ed. (New York: Longman, 1988), 118.

[21] Pool, *Trends in Content Analysis,* 177.

[22] Severin and Tankard, 120-24.

[23] Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952), 175.

[24] Pool, *Trends in Content Analysis,* 187.

[25] Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery and What it Tells Us* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), Appendices II-IV.

[26] Spurgeon, *Shakespeare'sImagery,* passim.

[27] Berelson, *Content Analysis,* 22.

[28] G. Wayne Shamo, "Predicting Syllable Count By Computer, " *Journalism Quarterly,* 52, 344-46 (Summer 1975).

[29] T. A. Sebeok and V. J. Zeps, "An Analysis of Structured Content With Application of Electronic Computer Research in Psycholinguistics," *Language and Speech,* 1, 181-93.

[30] P. J. Stone, R. F. Bales, J. Z. Namenwirth, and D. M. Ogilvie, "The General Inquirer: A Computer System for Content Analysis and Retrieval Based on the Sentence as a Unit of Information," *Behavioral Science,* 7, 484-94.

[31] Sally Y. Sedelow, W. A. Sedelow, Jr., and T. Ruggles, "Some Parameters for Computational Stylistics: Computer Aids to the Use of Traditional Categories in Stylistic Analysis. *In Proceedings of the IBM Literary Dat aProcessing Conference* (Yorktown Heights, N. Y. : IBM, 1964), 211-29.

[32] Ole R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Reading, Mass. : Addison-Wesley Publishing Company), 154-55.

[33] Shamo, "Predicting Syllable Count By Computer," 344.

[34] Holsti, *Content Analysis*, 191.

[35] Wayne A. Danielson, Dominic L. Lasorsa and Dae S. Im, "Journalists and Novelists: A Study of Diverging Styles," *Journalism Quarterly*, 69, 436-445 (Summer 1992).

[36] Danielson, Lasorsa, and Im, "Journalists and Novelists," 442.

[37] Andrews, *South Reports War*, 544. When Dumble petitioned to get his 1862-1865 back wages, he testified he had been on the *Appeal* from June 8, 1862 to April 15, 1865 (Petition of John B. Dumble, McKnight v. Dill, Shelby County Chancery Court, Tennessee, Jan. 26, 1869, 619-20).

[38] 1850 Louisiana Census, East Baton Rouge Parish, p. 177.

[39] *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, 5 November, 1863.

[40] *Journal of Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Georgia*, May 8, 1856, 19; *One Hundred Years of Life: Emmanuel Church* (Athens, Ga.: Emmanuel Church, November 1943), 11-12.

[41] *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, 25 July 1863; 1 September 1863.

[42] Ibid., 31 August 1863. Linebaugh had only been stringing for five days before he remarked—obviously to criticism—"My Letters may have seemed too discursive for the general taste, but… " and then launched into a typically lengthy sentence that was 102 words long (*The Memphis Daily Appeal*, 20 July,1863)

[43] Ibid., 17 July 1863.

[44] Originally, the samples were entered into one large file. A simple macro program (AutoMac III) was used to split the file into individual sample files. A macro program automates repetitive tasks and keystrokes which can be performed by any programs. In this case, the macro copied the sample, pasted to a new document, saved and closed the new document under a new name.

[45] At this stage, macro program deleted unnecessary information and placed tabs between data point. The macro program operated within Microsoft Word, version 4.0. Most spreadsheet and database programs can import data when data point are separated by tabs, and records are separated by carriage returns.

[46] The Flesch Reading Ease Score is based on the number of words in each sentence, and the average number of syllables per word. The Flesch-Kincaid system attempts to represent readability as a school grade level. The Flesch-Kincaid formula has become a standard required by the U.S. Government and the military (DOD MIL-M-38784B). The Gunning Fog index considers sentence length but emphsizes word length. Baker, Robert and Dave Johnson, *Correct Grammar for the Macintosh* (San Francisco: Lifetree Software Inc.) Documentation ,46-47.

[47] Note: All figures were produced by Microsoft Excel prior to data rounding. The unusual Y-axis notations are the result of rounding errors but more accurately reflect relationships.

[48] Andrews, *South Reports War*, 547.

[49] Folkerts and Teeter, *Voices of Nation*, 245-46; Andrews, *South Reports War*, 544-547.

[50] Ibid., 545.

Appendix A

Data Output

	Flesh Reading Ease			
	Avg	Stdv	N	t-test
Shadow	53.2	3.3	9	
McClanahan	51.1	13.5	65	0.1914
Dumble	48.7	7.0	25	0.0047
Linebaugh	43.0	9.6	20	0.0000

	Flesh-Kincaid Grade Level			
	Avg	Stdv	N	t-test
Shadow	11.2	0.8	9	
McClanahan	12.7	3.9	65	0.0018
Dumble	12.9	1.9	25	0.0002
Linebaugh	14.5	2.7	20	0.0000

	Gunning- Fog Index			
	Avg	Stdv	N	t-test
Shadow	13.2	0.9	9	
McClanahan	15.6	4.2	65	0.0000
Dumble	15.7	2.1	25	0.0000
Linebaugh	16.9	2.8	20	0.0000

	Letters per Word			
	Avg	Stdv	N	t-test
Shadow	4.8	0.2	9	
McClanahan	4.5	0.2	65	0.0019
Dumble	4.6	0.1	25	0.0173
Linebaugh	4.7	0.2	20	0.1831

	Words per Sentence.			
	Avg	Stdv	N	t-test
Shadow	21.9	2.4	9	
McClanahan	26.8	8.8	65	0.0002
Dumble	26.1	4.5	25	0.0005
Linebaugh	29.4	6.1	20	0.0000

	Sentences. per Paragraph			
	Avg	Stdv	N	t-test
Shadow	3.7	1.3	9	
McClanahan	6.8	4.9	65	0.0000
Dumble	18.0	8.4	25	0.0000
Linebaugh	6.3	4.8	20	0.0005

	% Passive			
	Avg	Stdv	N	t-test
Shadow	35.6	12.2	9	
McClanahan	31.6	23.2	65	0.4063
Dumble	39.6	16.1	25	0.4073
Linebaugh	34.9	19.2	20	0.9017

Appendix B

Using Macros

The macros used in this study do not print out into understandable text, yet there have been questions of this technique. Macroed tasks can be as simple as typing your name or as complex as computer assisted survey software. There are several macro packages available on for each computer platform.

In this study, we had examples of works that needed analysis. All examples were in one file and it was necessary to transfer each example into separate files. This work could have been done by hand but it would have been more time consuming.

The first step was to standardize the spacing between examples and place a marker character at the end of each extract. We chose omega (Ω) as a marker since it was never used in any extract and the key combination was easy (option - z). Extract titles were eliminated since they would not be included in the analysis. It was then time for the macro. The program (AutoMac III) allowed us to do the desired action once and then edit if necessary. All other actions are normal commands in Microsoft Word version 5.1.

The cursor was placed at the beginning of an extract. The macro could be canceled by pressing command-period. After the first run, some pauses were added to allow the computer to keep up. The macro steps were as follows:

Extend to character — Select text until a character is found
"Ω" in answer to the computer query "which character?"
Pause three seconds
Copy
Right arrow — de-selects text and puts cursor at end of extract
Right arrow — moves cursor to start of next (blank) line
Down arrow — moves cursor to start of next extract
Open new document
Paste — Copies text into new document
Pause one second
Close Document
Enter — Answers "yes" to computer query "Save document before closing?"
Pause macro until "Enter" key is pressed — allows operator to name document.
Repeat macro

The macro did nothing that a human operator could not have done. It just did it faster with less stress on the operator. The slowest part of the macro was waiting for the operator to name the document. With the help of the macro, the extracts were prepared for analysis in a few hours.

A more elaborate macro was written to consolidate the output of the grammar checking program into one final data set. Using a macro means that the numeric data never had to be re-keyed. This removed a major opportunity for human error. The concept was the same. We used the macro program to consistently perform the redundant tasks of data editing.

THE CANING OF JAMES GORDON BENNETT,
THE PENNY PRESS,
AND THE PRIMORDIAL SOUP OF MODERN AMERICAN JOURNALISM

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BY

DAVID T. Z. MINDICH

Abstract: This paper looks at how and why the popular, nonpartisan press arose in the 1830s. Journalism historians have long maintained that the penny press was born from an era of democracy and egalitarianism. The author argues here that journalism historians have not caught up with the contemporary historians' beliefs about the age of Jackson, which focus on the inegalitarian aspects of the age. Throughout the paper, the author uses the beating of one New York editor, James Gordon Bennett, by another, James Watson Webb, to illustrate this issue. This paper attempts to rip Bennett and Webb out of the now dated narratives constructed by journalism historians and to place them instead in a Jacksonian America that would be recognizable to modern historians. In doing so, this work develops a new theory about the birth of the penny press: that it was primarily influenced not by the era's successes, but by its failures.

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On a sunny spring day, May 9th, 1836, James Gordon Bennett left his newspaper office to begin his morning perambulations around Wall Street, seeking information for the financial column of his new one-cent paper, the New York Herald. That morning, as he roamed the narrow, tortuous streets of the financial district, Bennett might very well have been counting his blessings. He was a man on the rise; in part because of his coverage of one of the most sensational crimes of the century-- the axe-murder of a beautiful prostitute-- his paper, which he had started a year before with a five-hundred dollar investment, was quickly becoming one of the most successful newspapers in New York.[1] Bennett even boasted that his paper had the highest circulation in the world. Indeed, the Scottish-born Bennett, who had single-handedly sold the ad copy, reported events, wrote the columns, and edited the newspaper, was now in a position to advertise for help: "A smart active boy wanted, who can write a good hand," Bennett had advertised. Bennett also called for "a new *corps* of Carriers" to augment the growing army of those who hawked his paper. Bennett was a rare example of the total fulfillment of the American Dream, a man who could hardly keep up with his own success. It was on this brilliant spring morning that a rival editor, James Watson Webb, caught up with Bennett on Wall Street, shoved him down a flight of stairs, and beat him severely with his cane.[2]

Why Webb beat Bennett has never been explained beyond the former's penchant for violence and the latter's obnoxious character. It is true that in the weeks before the beating, Bennett's columns had included numerous jabs at Webb, the editor of New York's leading newspaper, the staid and elitist Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer. "We are rapidly taking the wind out of the *big bellied* sails of the Courier & Enquirer" wrote Bennett, poking fun at his rival's rotundity and the dimensions of the Courier's large news sheet. Bennett promised that the Herald would ultimately best the "*bloated* Courier" (italics mine). In the weeks before the assault, Bennett also called Webb a "defaulter," guilty of "disgraceful conduct," and offered to send him a piece of the dead prostitute's bed as a "*momento mori.*" [3] But Webb was not the only editor who Bennett addictively insulted; one of Bennett's biographers points out that he "managed to attack in a single issue seven newspapers and their editors." While other editors returned Bennett's verbal abuse or simply ignored it, Webb beat Bennett-- three times, in fact, in 1836. So why did Webb resort to violence while others abstained? This paper examines the rise of the first nonpartisan press through the prism of Webb's conflicts with Bennett.[4]

How and why the popular, nonpartisan press arose in the 1830s is the focus of this paper.[5] Historians have long maintained that the popular press of the 1830s came out of "Jacksonian democracy" in much the same way as Athena was born from Zeus's head: springing out fully formed. I will argue here that journalism historians have not caught up with the contemporary mainstream historians' beliefs about the age of Jackson, which focus on the inegalitarian aspects of the age. This paper attempts to rip Bennett and Webb out of the now dated narratives constructed by journalism historians and to place the two editors instead in a Jacksonian America that those who are familiar with the latest historicial scholarship would recognize. In doing so, this work develops a new theory about the birth of the popular (or "penny") press: that the first commercial press in the United States was primarily influenced not by the era's successes, but by its failures.

Before arguing with historians, it is useful to list the part of the outline that is not being argued: In the beginning, that is before the founding of the first penny paper, the New York Sun in 1833, most daily newspapers were expensive (generally 6¢ each or nearly ten percent of the average daily wage[6]), partisan, and sedate. Many included the words "advertiser," "commercial" and "mercantile" in their titles, reflecting their business orientation. The readership of these papers, which are variously-- and often interchangeably-- called the "party" or "mercantile" press, may have been high, but they had few subscribers by the standards of even a few years later.[7] Before the penny era, papers were shared or read aloud to groups in the partisan clubs and inns, and sent through a partisan postal service.[8]

From 1830 to 1840, while the population grew less than 40 percent, the average total circulation for all U.S. dailies nearly quadrupled.[9] Records for urban areas show an even more marked shift. The top-selling newspaper in 1828, Webb's Courier and Enquirer, circulated fewer than five-thousand copies a day. By 1836, fueled by his coverage of the axe-murder of the prostitute and aided by advances in printing technology, urbanization, and literacy, Bennett boasted a daily distribution of ten to fifteen thousand for his upstart paper.[10] Unlike Webb's paper, which sold for six cents a day, Bennett's Herald, Day's Sun and Lynde's Transcript sold for a penny, hence the cognomen, the "penny press." These "pennies" were also not exclusively sold by annual subscription as were the six-centers, but mainly by newsboys who urgently sold their papers in the streets and door-to-door.

The six-cent papers were connected to a tradition of party affiliation that had begun before the American Revolution but was encouraged first by the Federalists from 1789 to 1801, followed by Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democrats. The post offices, printing presses, inns, and newspapers in a city or town were often connected through party affiliation and were often owned by the same person. Many postmasters were also newspaper editors; through the privilege of franking, they would have "free and certain" delivery of their papers; the government, through the granting of federal printing contracts, would enjoy the expensive, yet certain, support of their editors. The Federalists increased federal postmasterships from 100 in the start of the period to more than 800 by the end, helping to create what one Democrat called a "court press." This strategy was pursued by the Democrats, too; during Jackson's 1832 reelection campaign, the official Jacksonian newspaper, Francis Blair's Globe, was franked by postmasters and congressmen to people throughout the country.[11] The pennies resemble today's newspapers more closely than the six-centers do. For one, unlike the party or mercantile press, the pennies were not supported by political parties and the articles were more likely to cover news outside the narrow political and mercantile interests of the six-centers. News of crimes, for example, was more prevalent in the pennies, as was other news, often sensationalistic, that fell beyond the six-centers' purview. A final characteristic that separated the pennies from what came before was that they also actively asserted their own nonpartisanship. The inaugural issue of the New York Transcript announced its political slant simply: "*we have none.*"[12]

Dates of Principal Events Discussed in this Paper

November, 1832	Andrew Jackson is reelected president
1833-1837	The most violent part of the ante-bellum period
September, 1833	Day founds the New York *Sun*
May, 1835	Bennett founds the New York *Herald*
January, 1836	Webb beats Bennett for the first time
April, 1836	Ellen Jewett is murdered, probably by Richard Robinson.
	Bennett says the *Herald*'s circulation has topped the *Courier and Enquirer*'s.
May, 1836	Webb beats Bennett for the second time
1837	Decline of street violence and the labor press; continuing rise of pennies
March, 1838	Cilley-Graves duel; national outrage against dueling

The Press "Revolution," "Jacksonian Democracy," and Historians of Journalism

Journalism historians generally place the birth of modern American journalism and the rise of "objectivity" in the Jacksonian era and tie it to the "democratic spirit" of the age. What came before, they argue, was primitive, "biased" and almost medieval in its lack of journalistic integrity. The pennies, the historians argue, brought about a "revolution." Frank L. Mott, author of *American Journalism*, titles a chapter on the pre-penny era the "Dark Ages of Partisan Journalism," a phrase countered by the author's laudatory title for the penny period: "Sunrise"! Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, in their popular *The Press and America*, call the changes "revolutionary," and announce that the pennies supplied "news" not "views." The Emerys also cite the "democratic ferment" and "emergence of common people" during the Jacksonian age. Mitchell Stephens, in *A History of News*, connects the pennies' rise with the "spread of Jacksonian democracy."[13]

Michael Schudson, in his 1978 book, Discovering the News, also sees the era as significant, calling the rise of the commercial press in the 1830s a "revolution"; he cites universal white manhood suffrage, the "rise" of the "middle-class," and an "egalitarian market economy" as reasons. Schudson also asserted that the era saw the birth of "objectivity" claims.[14] "Before the 1830s," he writes "objectivity was not an issue." He also asserts that "the idea of 'news' itself was invented in the Jacksonian era." Although these claims are clearly overstated,[15] a kernel of truth remains: many newspapers formally severed their party ties and an ethic of nonpartisanship, albeit unevenly followed, emerged. Unlike their six-cent ancestors, the pennies were supported by circulation and advertising, not party patronage.

That the pennies asserted their own nonpartisanship still leaves open the question of whether the papers were born out of the "democracy" of the Jacksonian age. Schudson, in Discovering the News, claims that the modern press emerged during the thirties, an era he titles the "Age of Egalitarianism."[16] But while Schudson and others claim that "objectivity" grew out of the era's democratic promise, evidence shows that the nonpartisan press emerged in response to precisely opposite factors: violence, class conflict, racial and gender subjugation, and the failure of the Jacksonian promise. In fact, while Schudson and other journalism historians see a connection between the pennies and Jacksonian democracy, recent criticism calls into question the whole idea that democracy existed at all during the Jacksonian era.

In Schudson's mind, the Jacksonian period saw the decline of the "gentry rule" of people like Webb. The whole apple cart was overturned by the likes of Bennett and others, defined by Schudson as the "middle class." This "middle class" supplanted the gentry, bringing about the "ideal and institutional fact of mass democracy" and a "democratic culture."[17] According to Schudson, the pennies were democracy's offspring.

Schudson's views owe much to historians of the Jacksonian era, notably Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Allen Nevins, and Henry Steele Commager. Schlesinger's Age of Jackson, published in 1945, was the culmination of the "progressive" historians, as they are now often called, who believed strongly that the age of Jackson represented a triumph of democracy and "the people" over the old ways. This view of Jackson and the era is a whiggish one, and mirrored popular thinking about

Roosevelt and the New Deal, both of which were mentioned by Schlesinger in Age of Jackson. Schudson cites Nevins and Commager's Pocket History (1967) to represent Jackson's legacy. Schudson writes:

> The authors summarize Jackson's creed as "faith in the common man; belief in political equality [and] belief in equal economic opportunity [...]" They argue that Jackson's policies implemented this creed and that a democratic wave swept the country in the form of manhood suffrage, ... a cheap press, public schooling, and the advance of the religious sects most democratic in their governance.
>
> For all the abuse this view has taken in the past decade or two, it does not seem to me to have been seriously tarnished....[The revisionists' position], far from being an attack on the idea that the 1830s were an egalitarian age, confirms just that hypothesis. [18]

But in the years directly before Schudson's book went to press in 1978, until today, historians of the Jacksonian age have produced a body of work that not only "tarnishes" the Schlesinger view of Jacksonian democracy, but thoroughly discredits it.[19] And to suggest that revisionists, led by Edward Pessen (who Schudson cites) confirm Jacksonian "democracy" is to misrepresent them. Pessen, for one, is unequivocal in the force of his revision: "The age may have been named after the common man but it did not belong to him," Pessen writes. At the end of his Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics, Pessen even suggests a new name for the period: "Not the 'age of Jackson' but the 'age of materialism and opportunism, reckless speculation and erratic growth, unabashed vulgarity, surprising inequality, whether of condition, opportunity, or status, and a politic, *seeming* deference to the common man by the uncommon men who actually ran things.'"[20]

A forceful repudiation of Schudson's "progressive"-based view of the Jacksonian era comes from Daniel Schiller in his 1981 book, Objectivity and the News. Finding "a pattern of objectivity," emerging in a weekly newspaper devoted to crime news, Schiller devotes many pages to an analysis of the penny era and relies on post-"progressive" social historians for his analysis. He believes that the pennies arose out of labor's unrest in late 1820s and early 1830s and sees a problem in Schudson's theory about the "middle class," which Schiller believes was divided into "disparate and frequently hostile" camps of merchants and artisans. The merchants' and artisans' work and welfare were being shaken by the rise of national market system, Schiller suggests, but their interests were often contrabalanced. "That the penny press found a way to speak to both groups at once was its most ingenious and fundamental contribution," writes Schiller.[21] Statements, such as the Sun's "It Shines for All," reflected an appeal to the many different economic and social groups.

After Schiller: New Approach to Class Struggle

While historians of the Jacksonian period have become skeptical of the "democratic" promise of the age, journalism historians, with the notable exception of Schiller, have not reconciled the revisionists' new understanding. Where Schudson sees a rising middle class, Schiller sees a group, angry and divided, but united in its opposition to the elite forces. But Schiller's perceptive theory that the pennies appropriated labor's class-based anger does not go far enough in understanding the hot turbulent storms of the age of Jackson, the race and gender wars, and the violence, both in the streets and in the newspapers, between the elite and labor, and between men of the same class. The frantic desire to make change, to move, to build, to kill, and most of all to make money, is writ large in the newspaper columns of the day as well, but journalism historians have yet to capture it beyond arguing for or against Jacksonian democracy. A study of the period, including a close examination of the daily press, can show what the pennies reveal about the class conflicts, violence, and sense of empowerment among the masses. Webb's violence against Bennett is a good place to start.

Bennett had worked for Webb in the pre-penny days, made a name for himself as a brash, entertaining Washington columnist, and left Webb's charge after the Courier and Enquirer switched parties to become a Whig organ.[22] Bennett, a Democrat, then tried unsuccessfully to start a Democratic paper in Philadelphia before coming to New York to found the independent Herald in May of 1835. Within the year, Webb publicly beat his former employee twice in the streets of New York.

The first time Webb beat Bennett was on January 20th, 1836. In his lead column on January 19th, Bennett announced that it was "with heartfelt grief that we are compelled to publish the following awful disclosure of the defalcations of our former associate, Col. Webb....But as we control an independent paper, we could not refuse it." What follows are accounts by a broker of Webb's failures in the stock market leading to his owing the broker more than $87,000. It was with "pain regret, and almost with tears in our eyes," that Bennett published the exposé. The crocodile tears did not stop Webb from chasing down his former employee, punching him in the face, and then striking him in the head with a large club.[23]

One theme emerges in Bennett's coverage of this first fight: That Webb's violence can do nothing against the inexorable success of the *Herald*, which threatens to overtake the *Courier and Enquirer*. Webb's violence is depicted by Bennett as a desperate attempt by a privileged, dishonest man to keep money and power for himself. Bennett describes the blow to his head almost like a description of a Mexican piñata ceremony, with Webb trying to gain, as the prize, the contents of Bennett's skull: "[Webb] wanted to let out [of my skull] the never-ending supply of good humor and wit which has created such a reputation for the HERALD, and, perhaps, appropriate the contents to supply the emptiness of his own thick skull....Webb will make nothing by availing himself of his brute force against me. He cannot stop the success of the HERALD."[24]

Bennett's success may very well have been on Webb's mind as he stalked the penny editor. Two days after the assault, Bennett claimed a circulation of nine thousand, which he boasted was "about three times" that of Webb's paper.[25] And Bennett's descriptions of the fight suggest a rising Bennett and a desperate Webb. Webb is seen as knocking down Bennett, who always inexorably rises. Bennett writes that the *Herald* has "reduced" Webb, "a man with empty brains and emptier pockets." The *Herald*, Bennett writes, will "throw entirely in the shade the *Courier and Enquirer*, and surpass it."[26] The image of the phallic growing tree, dwarfing its father/predecessor into a shady submission, was meant to hector Webb, but it was rooted in an actual class struggle, not only between Bennett and Webb, but between the elite and the masses of the Jacksonian era as well.

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If Bennett was trying to find the perfect villain to represent what his readers might hate about the elite, he did not have had to search far. As Schiller points out, Webb's paper, too expensive for the masses, was seen by wage workers as a monopoly of knowledge at a time when knowledge was increasingly viewed as a necessary capitalist tool.[27] But there were also other reasons why workers resented the paper. Employees, for example, resented that the Courier and Enquirer was a possession to be borrowed from the boss, after he would finish it himself. The first biographer of Bennett, Isaac Clark Pray, likened the innovation of a cheap press to that of the matchbox; no longer would people have to borrow newspapers or burning coals from their rich neighbors.[28] Furthermore, Webb was connected to the most hated man of his day, the head of the U.S. Bank and enemy of Andrew Jackson, Nicholas Biddle, who bought Webb's support with a large "loan" (Webb and an associate were condemned by a House subcommittee for taking bribes from Biddle).[29] Finally, a nativist with anti-Irish sentiments, Webb was an enemy to the largely immigrant, working class New York Democrats. It would be difficult to overstate labor's hatred of the Courier and Enquirer's editor, a hatred so intense that long before Bennett's public wrangling with Webb, laborers sang songs about him:

Who sold himself to one Nick Biddle,
And said the Democrats he'd diddle,
Were he allowed to play first fiddle?
    James Double W. ....
Who said aristocratic rights
Should supersede the poorer wights,
And calls mechanics "troglodytes"?
    James Double W.
Who, when some emigrants contrived
To reach these shores, where Freedom thrived,
Announced them "*live stock*" just arrived?

James Double W.
Whose plighted faith and consequences,
His boasted knowledge--all pretense---
Was lately valued at *six pence?*
James Double W. ....[30]

It is clear from Bennett's rhetoric and the working class anger which he appropriated that Webb stood for much more than merely Webb himself. It is clear that Bennett, his readers, and modern journalism historians (including Schiller) see Webb as a stand-in for a declining elite. Similarly, the rising Bennett is seen as paradigm for the rising (or in Schiller's view, angry) masses. But contrary to these views, Webb and Bennett are in two key ways not representative of the struggles of the Jacksonian era.

First, while it is true that the two men lived in a bifurcated age of haves and have-nots, and while the fortunes of Webb and Bennett declined and rose, the people they have come to represent in theory did not follow their models in practice. Pessen, after studying tax records, concludes that, unlike what was previously believed, the gap between rich and poor actually widened during the Jackson era. Unlike Webb, the vast majority of the rich became richer. In northeastern cities, Pessen writes, the top 1 percent of wealth holders owned a quarter of all wealth just before Jackson came to Washington, and owned half by mid-century. And, conversely, the majority of all Americans in 1850 were assessed for no property whatsoever.[31] According to Jack Larkin, a chronicler of the ante-bellum lifestyle, artisans during the years of Jackson were inexorably being converted into pieceworkers. The "ten-hour" workday movement, which began in the thirties, "implicitly recognized that older, more episodic work rhythms were disappearing."[32] The decline of Webb and the rise of Bennett contravened the fortunes of members of their respective classes.

The second reason why Webb and Bennett do not confirm the classic interpretations of the Jacksonian age is that while much good work has been done by Schiller and others to understand key events in the pennies' early history in terms of class tensions, these tensions are often more complicated than they seem. For example, Schiller finds class tensions in the famous murder of the prostitute, Ellen Jewett; sides were drawn, says Schiller between the masses who identified with and supported the prostitutes and the elite who frequented them and defended the accused man. But Bennett did not support the prostitute, and instead defended the accused killer, Richard Robinson. In a 1990 dissertation, Andrea Tucher offers convincing evidence that Robinson was indeed the murderer-- a fact, Tucher suggests, that was known by all, including Bennett. Tucher's most important suggestion was that Bennett may very well have run an extortion operation out of his editorial office, taking money from the rich customers in return for a promise to not publish their names and for Bennett's support of Robinson.[33] Finally, while many poorer folks may have supported the prostitutes, a number of violent working class gangs routinely confronted and beat up the prostitutes, and terrorized others as well. A week after the prostitute was killed, for example, a gang known for its anti-brothel violence threw hot coals in the face of an elderly woman and savagely beat a man who came to her aid.[34]

Not only did the masses behave in a complicated way, the elite did so as well. In the Jacksonian era, as Leonard Richards shows in his Gentlemen of Property and Standing: Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America, violence was often provoked by mobs of the higher classes-- merchants and the like-- who feared the loss of stability that the emerging market economy had brought. Many elite mobs felt that the abolitionists were responsible for everything they feared about the roiling age.[35] As I will outline, Webb was often associated with mobs. But even here, Webb's position does not exactly represent a clear elite-masses dichotomy. The elite mobs often attacked other elites, such as the when they broke into the churches, meetings, and businesses of abolitionists and their sympathizers and beat up those inside.[36]

Webb and Bennett: Not Democracy, But Change and Mobility

While journalism historians have tried to make Webb and Bennett stand-ins for a declining elite and a rising middle class, what these men actually represent is more complicated; they represent something that resists explanation, although we must try; they represent the idea and fact of change and mobility. Again, this needs to be discussed in parts.

First, they represent a change in the way business was conducted in America, a change some historians see as starting after the Ghent peace treaty with Britain following the War of 1812,[37] and the subsequent commercial boom. The rhythms of living and business were changing, from a tight, communal, and informal market, to a town and city-based market of strangers. This is captured wonderfully in Washington Irving's "Rip Van Winkle" when Rip comes back after his long sleep and sees his own town, now livelier and "disputatious," and comes upon a "lean bilious looking fellow with his pockets full of handbills."[38] The two editors reflect this shift in lifestyles, with Webb, for obvious reasons, fighting the changes every step of the way. Webb, living a life of patronage, supported by parties, special interests, and the elite who used his paper, worked short days, took time off, traveled, and engaged in politics. Bennett, in contrast, was surrounded by strangers and was supported by no one; he worked up his paper with the intensity of a driven man, and did so by turning a basement office into a one-man, 18-hour, seven-days-a-week sweatshop.[39]

Second, the Webb-Bennett relationship represents the loss of deference and the rise of a working class irreverence; Webb represents a earlier era, concerned with rules of society, while Bennett's *modus operandi* was iconaclasm and irreverence. Alexis De Tocqueville, visiting the U.S. in the early eighteen-thirties, wrote about how democracy "renders the habitual intercourse of the Americans simple and easy,"[40] a characteristic not of Webb but of Bennett. The pride and aristocratic airs of Webb, who fought duels to protect his name, is reflected in his newspaper's careful discussions about honor and social rights. Time after time, Webb would meticulously analyze the honor dueling parties. Once, after a particularly violent aborted duel, Webb criticized the violence but not the duel itself.[41] The next day Bennett quoted Webb at length and laughed at his hypocrisy. Bennett writes: "This homily comes with an exquisite grace from a man who has kicked up more disgraceful brawls than any other of the same dimensions ever did." Bennett then criticized Webb for not taking a stand against dueling. "Who has the courage" to oppose dueling, Bennett asks. "If no other will, we shall." Finally Bennett insinuated that Webb was a coward.[42] Bennett's attacks on Webb's coverage was less a careful critique than a public demonstration that Bennett could take a measure of his former boss's "dimensions," and hold him up to ridicule.

One of the Herald's chief innovations was its departure from the six-centers' concern with propriety and honor. The articles in the Herald about Webb's beatings contain no suggestion that Bennett was offended or indignant over Webb's violence. The emotion that comes through is feigned pity over Webb's declining condition, and an irreverence calculated to further affront Webb's honor and to entertain the Herald's readers. Bennett's ability to mock the airs of the aristocracy can be seen in the days immediately following his beating. Claiming that the Herald has produced a "new era" in the city, Bennett wonders why the other papers did not support him after the beating and even compares himself to Socrates and the other papers to the ancient sophists who tried to destroy him. "The days of Webb and his impotent paper are numbered," promised Bennett-- empty bombast indeed, but fiery and irreverent, too.[43]

Even a glimpse at the daily fare in both papers would reveal the sea change from a mannered to irreverent society . On one day in April, 1836, the Courier and Enquirer's dry political reports included one of a Rhode Island election ("The Providence Journal brings us full returns of the recent election in that State, from every town but New Shoreham...) and a vapid account of a failed congressional bill. On the same day, the Herald mentioned Congress too, but the topics, tone, and terseness of the two the papers contrast markedly. Here is the Herald:

> ⇒Nothing done in Congress--equally idle at the Five Points.
>
> ⇒How lovely the ladies looked yesterday on Broadway![44]

Bennett employed the "simple and easy" lack of deference that De Tocqueville noticed and Webb deplored.

While Bennett's rise and Webb's decline run against the economic trend of most of the rich and poor, the fact of their mobility, upward and downward, is a third way in which they reflect the era. Again, this aspect of Webb and Bennett, and what it represents is more complex than the journalism historians and even the "progressive"/"revisionist" debaters have suggested. I have shown, following Pessen's research, that the direction of Webb and Bennett's mobility run opposite to that of the elite and working classes. But the very fact of their change in fortunes is important, because if there is one characteristic that marks the early penny era it is mobility, the promise of mobility, and the fear of it as well.

Mobility

In the 1830s, people moved. More canals, steamboats, railroads, roads, turnpikes, and bridges were built under Jackson, who was often skeptical of public works, than under any previous president.[45] The changing market economy uprooted families and individuals and, increasingly, people began to move away from rural homes and to the cities to find work. The fiction of the Jacksonian era and beyond, until the Civil War, reflects this traveling age: Irving's Rip Van Winkle travels through time, while Ichabod Crane flits from town to town; Cooper's Natty Bumpo is forever foraging in the woods; some of Hawthorne's characters wander the woods too, while others seek kinsmen in other cities; on a grander scale, ships carried people across the country and the world, as reflected in Herman Melville's great narratives of the sea, written about his younger days in the nascent years of the pennies.[46]

Politically and socially, it was an exciting and heady age for those who were fortunate enough to be born white, male, and Protestant. It is difficult to imagine a definition of democracy that would include the Jacksonian kind (Southern blacks, of course, were generally slaves, and northern ones were badly abused and politically disenfranchised; American Indians generally fared no better than free blacks; Irish and other non-native born Americans were often deprived of their civil rights; women, too, politically powerless, did not gain suffrage until the twentieth century, and some even compared their plight to that of the slaves[47]). But the era was deeply concerned with the idea of democracy. Although Pessen shows how Jackson did not introduce universal white manhood suffrage (it preceded him, in fact), for the first time the votes of all white men did matter. And while he believes that Jackson's laisez-faire policies hurt the poor, Pessen does acknowledge Jackson's "seeming deference" to them. Jackson and his Democratic confreres appealed to the poor for their votes, in what one historian called an era of "lowest common denominator" politics.[48] While the upward economic mobility of the working classes, as I have discussed following research by Pessen and others, was greatly exaggerated, the increasing currency of the myth of mobility is evident from the press and political rhetoric of the day. The myth of politicians rising from humble origins was employed by both major political parties.

Jackson himself, who had never been poor and who, at the time of his first presidential campaign held great wealth and owned more than one hundred slaves, was a beneficiary of this myth.[49]

People began to feel empowered by new religious beliefs. While a discussion of the teleology of Jacksonian mobility is difficult, part of the equation must include the changes brought about by religion. Calvinism, one of the central religious influences of pre-Jacksonian America, embraced the doctrine of Predestination, the belief that humans can do nothing to affect their eternal fate. By the coming of the Jacksonian age, however, a revivalist faith began to supplant the old Calvinist doctrines. The revivalists brought with them a belief in eternal mobility. Charles Finney, the leading revivalist of his time, was a lawyer turned preacher who believed that salvation was possible for all. Gaining national attention for the revivals he staged, Finney encouraged his followers--many of whom recently empowered by suffrage--to "vote" for salvation. Come up to the bench, he would beckon them, and elect yourself to heaven.[50]

Finney's beliefs influenced and echoed those of reformers everywhere: revivalism, abolitionism, temperance, anti-tobaccoism, vegetarianism, and other isms were seen as necessary tools with which to build a perfect life fit for salvation. "All great reforms go together," said the abolitionist Frederick Douglass, reflecting a belief of the reformers, or what some called the "anti-everythingarians" of the day.[51] The ante-bellum reformers held the common belief that admission to heaven (or, for the doubters, to a utopia), would be gained only through a total separation of evil. Thus abolitionists called for northern secession, temperance advocates called for anti-drinking laws, and others, like Thoreau in his journey to Walden, simply dropped out completely. This activist approach to heaven was embraced by many, including the wealthy Tappan family which secured a New York City Church for Finney; it was also feared by many, including Webb, who organized a mob that sacked Finney's church.[52]

While Bennett hated the abolitionists, calling them "crazy-headed blockheads,"[53] he did share their faith in change and perfectibility. All of the above dimensions of mobility can be seen in the following passage from Bennett's editorial page. Notice how the promise of the age is played out in the passage, and how mobility, in its variegated forms, is demonstrated:

> We mean to elevate the daily press to the same rank in literature and influence that Shakespeare did the low-sunk Drama in the days of Elizabeth, or Milton the Epic during the Commonwealth, or Scott the Novel in our own time. Do not smile, gentle reader, at our ambition--at our enthusiasm. Hitherto, the daily newspaper press has been entirely devoted to political news, public events, and commercial intelligence, and the daily routine of ordinary existence. It possessed no soul--it was enlivened with no genius--it was actuated with no breathing spirit of fire,--it was dull as the lake of Asphaltides-- or as the Courier and Journal-- brimstone and saltpetre combined. The daily newspaper press is one the most important elements of modern civilization. Its power-- its brilliancy-- its secret charms-- its hidden mysteries,-- have never yet been revealed--never yet been dug out from the dullness of montebanks, ninnies, or miserable twaddlers. We mean to call forth these hidden treasures so far as our strength and talent and energy can. To do so requires perseverance--which we have, experience-- which we have, fearlessness-- which we have, a private character untainted--which we have, a moral and physical courage that nothing can intimidate-- which also we have, and a circulation and advertising patronage unequaled in the world--part of which we already have, and the rest will soon follow. See if it don't.[54]

From the bombastic beginning of the above passage, where he promises to reach immortal heights, to the final sentence where, through slang, he underlines his working class irreverence, Bennett brings his American dream to the people and invites them, however vicariously, to share in it.

Public and "Personal Outrages": A Press Born Out of a Violent Era

I have shown how the penny press emerged not from a period of democracy or from the growth of the middle class, but from an era of change and complex, occasionally violent conflict. But the nature of the violence is important too, and here we will turn to an examination of Webb's violence and what it says about the conflicts of the era as a whole.

The day after his second beating, the headline in Bennett's Herald screamed out from the first page: "OPENING OF THE SUMMER CAMPAIGN-- JAMES WATSON WEBB'S SECOND FRACAS-- WALL STREET IN COMMOTION-- RETREAT OF THE BELLIGERENT--

RETURN OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED." Bennett was exuberantly reporting on his favorite topic-- himself-- and was using his misfortune to sell papers. But while he often wrote about his life with hyperbole, comparing himself to Socrates and even Moses at times, this time he had a narrower goal: to paint Webb as a dangerous outsider. "The violent and disgraceful personal outrages which have so frequently disgraced the city, were yesterday repeated by James Watson Webb, the editor and proprietor of the Courier and Enquirer," wrote Bennett, who offered to convince the head of "Bellevue Asylum" to have the "insane" Webb committed.[55]

Although Bennett was merely having some public fun at his rival's expense and boosting the Herald's circulation, Webb may very well have made it to Bellevue in later times. A violent man in any age, Webb was nevertheless representative of the era's violence and the instigator of physical attacks on individuals and groups. According to one chronicler of the Jacksonian age, the years from 1833-1837 were the most violent of antebellum America.[56] This time also corresponds with the birth and rise of the pennies and the height of Webb's violence. In 1833, after the abolitionist newspaper, the Liberator, attacked the reactionary American Colonization Society, the society called a meeting, held in Webb's office, and staged a massive riot, which included seizing and tormenting an elderly African-American man.[57] In 1834, Webb led a mob in the bloody election riots in New York City. In 1836 he beat Bennett (on three separate occasions), and in 1837 he almost fought a duel with Congressman Samuel H. Gholson of Mississippi. Webb's feud with Congressman Jonathan Cilley of Maine in 1838 led to a duel between the latter and Webb's friend, W.J. Graves, a congressman from Kentucky. Graves killed Cilley, the only example in American history of one congressman killing another. In 1842, Webb himself fought a duel with a congressman, Thomas Marshall of Kentucky; Webb was injured, and then briefly jailed for breaking New York's anti-dueling laws.[58]

A Violent Era

The years from 1833 to 1837 were violent in a number of ways. The violence of the Old West reaches us through the filters of B-movies and other mass media, but a more complete and general picture emerges through the work of the post-"progressive" revisionist historians. While shootouts may have been less common in the nineteenth century than they are in twentieth century Hollywood, ante-bellum life was, like Webb, extremely violent, even by our standards. The violence, from mob riots to the quaint antebellum custom of "eye-gouging," was most certainly affected by the enormous quantities of hard liquor consumed by Americans, four gallons per capita, by one estimate, and was a daily fact for many city-dwellers.[59] One historian counted nearly fifty reported riots nationwide in the years 1834 and 1835 alone.[60]

Setting the tone for the violent era were the U.S. and state governments. Jackson's own bellicosity rivaled and probably surpassed Webb's; as he acknowledged himself, his violence was part of his nature: "I was born for a storm and calm does not suit me."[61] A hero of the 1812 war, Jackson was also representative of the various forms of violence in the era, especially with regard to Native Americans, slaves, political rhetoric, and personal confrontations. In 1818, then General Jackson led an expedition through Spanish-owned Florida to attack Seminole native-Americans. Without permission he killed countless Indians, took a Spanish Fort and executed two British citizens.[62] Indian "removal" was at a peak in the Jacksonian era, removal often a euphemism for genocide.

A wealthy man by the time of his election, Jackson lived well off the backs of his slaves at his farm, the Hermitage. Obviously, the very fact of slavery was another great form of violence in ante-bellum America, to say nothing of the routine beatings, rapes, and other abuses by white masters and their surrogates. Jackson himself kept runaway slaves in chains and once placed an advertisement to recover a runaway that offered fifty dollars, plus "ten dollars extra, for every hundred lashes any person will give him, to the amount of three hundred."[63]

Jackson, like many in the era, fought duels, including one over a horse race which left Jackson injured for life. Perhaps it was the ancient bullet, won in this duel and lodged in Jackson's gut near his heart, causing eternal bleeding and giving him a funereal air, that best represented the violence and pain of the man and the era which took his name.[64] In 1835, Jackson was also the victim of the first assassination attempt of an American president, during the height of the era's violence. It was a "sign of the times," remarked New York's Evening Post.[65]

In the North street violence peaked from 1832 to 1837; mob violence probably troubled people the most, especially the blacks, abolitionists, and Irish immigrants who were the most likely targets. But even members of the elite were alarmed, including Philip Hone, who called 1834 the "riot year."[66] Northern anti-abolitionist violence peaked in 1837 with the killing of an abolitionist editor, Elijah Lovejoy in Alton, Illinois. After this incident, the violence abated somewhat, and public opinion in the North became increasingly tolerant of abolitionism.[67]

Why were the middle eighteen-thirties so violent? Two historians, Richard Hofstadter and Carl Prince, see the inegalitarianism of the era as an important factor. Hofstadter calls the violence a "symptom" of the "pathology of nation growing at a speed that defied control, governed by an ineffective leadership..., bedeviled by its internal heterogeneity, and...cursed by a... wrong [slavery] that many of its people had even come to cherish as a right." Prince argues that the violence may have been "encouraged by an ideology that espoused political democracy without paying much attention to its social and economic substance." The year 1834, Prince argues, was the first year in the nineteenth century that people within urban centers believed that their interests were suddenly and radically different from their neighbors'.[68]

Dueling and Drubbing

Two forms of ante-bellum violence, duels and beatings, were widely practiced in antebellum America and were also favored by Webb. A look at the social function of these forms can give us a deeper understanding of the relationship of Webb and Bennett. Dueling was a particularly Southern practice, but it was practiced in the North and by Northerners, too. In 1804, Aaron Burr killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel in New Jersey. And Webb himself displayed a lifelong interest in duels, both through his coverage of the "fracas" and other duels, and as a participant. The ritual of the duel is both a way of resolving conflicts and of reaffirming ideals of society and honor through the *code duello*. Just as modern litigants reaffirm their faith in the validity of the courts by participating in legal structures, men embarked on the "social drama" of the duel with its intricate rules to renew their membership in the antebellum gentry. The duel would often start with an exchange of notes and escalate to choosing weapons, seconds, and the drawing up of rules. The vast majority of cases were resolved peacefully on the battlefield, or through letters, and even bellicose men like Jackson and Webb settled many duels for every one they fought.[69]

Why did Webb beat Bennett instead of challenging him to a duel? Even by its proponents and participants, dueling was not considered the appropriate method of conflict resolution for all parties. Specifically, dueling was not practiced by two men of different "classes." Masters did not duel slaves, for example; they beat them. Occasionally, the choice to beat rather than to duel was in itself a comment on the character of the victim. After Charles Sumner of Massachusetts stood up on the Senate floor in 1856 to criticize Andrew P. Butler from South Carolina, Preston Brooks, a congressmen from South Carolina and Butler's cousin, beat the Massachusetts Senator with his cane. Brooks was demonstrating that Sumner was no gentleman, unworthy of a duel, and fit to be beaten like a dog, or more to the point, like a slave. The Richmond Enquirer wrote after the caning: "The Vulgar Abolitionists in the Senate are getting above themselves....They have grown saucy and dare to be impudent to gentlemen!....They must be lashed into submission."[70] This passage reveals the social or "class" aspects of the choice to beat rather than to duel. It also shows how the Enquirer felt that the remedy to Sumner was to keep him down, both in terms of political power and by the use of actual force.

It is not entirely coincidental that the above passage achieves a sort of symbiosis with Bennett's accounts of the Webb's beatings, with the latter trying to beat down the former, and with the former always getting up and forever climbing. Webb's violence is part and parcel of the violence of the day and the social/political framework in which it operated. Because they represented different classes, Webb could not duel Bennett. And despite Bennett's increasing wealth (or perhaps because of it) Webb thought that his only option was to beat him.

Bennett's coverage of the beatings carefully subverts the gentry-servant relationship that Webb's cane had sought to establish. Bennett, and vicariously, the non-elite readers of the Herald would not be kept down by anyone. In the classic master-slave narrative, the master beats the slave and breaks his will, but Bennett had rewritten the gentry-servant relationship so that the servant uses the pen to fight back, and ultimately conquer. Bennett had tapped into the myth of mobility, based on the evangelical spirit of the age, on the feeling that people can change their situation, (even though only white men could participate in the adventure and even this group saw their fortunes decline), and on a rare embodiment of the American Dream, Bennett himself.

If Bennett advertised himself as more powerful than Webb, constantly rising after being knocked down, and rising higher and higher so as to dwarf the declining six-cent editor, this merely echoed prevalent beliefs about the important and heroic role of the "free" press. The "honest press" (as the nonpartisan press was called) was seen by labor as an important weapon in the fight against special interests, including the elite newspapers. The following is from a labor paper, the Working Man's Advocate:

> No weapons we'll use, nor for aught do we care
>   But knowledge and union to bring on the field
> For those are the keenest and those will we bear
>   Whilst the *press* will inspire us and be our safe shield.[71]

The lesson of the above is unmistakable: not actual weapons but the press would help to win the battles for the working men. While Bennett did not naturally align himself with "working men's" or union causes, he did use his pen to attack. And attack he did. With his indiscriminate attacks on Catholics (Bennett's faith), Protestants, Jews, natives, immigrants, blacks, men, women, drunkards, temperance advocates, abolitionists, slave-owners, six-penny papers, penny papers, and everyone else, Bennett was the scribbler's equivalent of a one-man mob.

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Within months of Jackson's leaving office and the arrival of his hand-picked successor, Martin Van Buren, the economy collapsed, due in part to eight years of laissez-faire economics and inflated paper money. The Panic of 1837 also marked two major turning points: the decline of street violence and the supremacy of the pennies. While it would be difficult to prove that the pennies *replaced* the street violence of the early thirties, there is a correlation. To illustrate this transition, which marks one of the most important contributions of the pennies, we turn to one final example, that of the Cilley-Graves duel.

After a Courier reporter had accused him of corruption, Jonathan Cilley, a Democratic congressmen from Maine, attacked Webb on the floor of the House, noting the infamous bank "loan." Webb's friend, W.J. Graves, a congressman from Kentucky, then delivered a letter from Webb to Cilley, which the latter refused to read. Cilley told Graves that he could not be held responsible for "language used in debate," meant no discourtesy toward the Kentucky congressman, but could not say that Webb was a gentleman. Going by the *code duello,* Cilley, by impugning Webb's reputation, had also cast doubt on the honor of Graves. Notes were exchanged and finally the two met on a Maryland field, each holding rifles at one hundred yards. Webb claimed that he searched for the dueling parties so that he might substitute himself for the Kentucky congressman, but he arrived after Graves shot Cilley dead on the third round of shooting.[72]

Bennett's response to the duel was predictable. He reported that "upwards of a hundred subscribers of the *Courier* yesterday withdrew their patronage from the wicked and blood-crimsoned sheet" and called Webb a "murderer." But the Herald's coverage also suggested how Webb symbolized the violence of the era, how that violence was coming to an end, and finally, how the penny press would replace it. Calling the duel an "atrocious plot against the tranquillity and well being of society," Bennett placed the violence of the era on Webb's doorstep:

> For five or six years past there has been an organized conspiracy to set aside all order, and to make passion the interpreter, in fact, the substitute for law. Open incitements to rioting, public denouncings of persons opposed to their desires, and violent assaults upon quiet and unoffending citizens, have been the claims this Wall street gang, and its ruffian leaders, have preferred to the respect and confidence of us all.[73]

In the above passage, Bennett creates a dichotomy between "tranquillity," "order," "law," and "us all" on one side and the violent, privileged cabal of Wall Streeters on the others. While Bennett had used rhetoric like this before, now it had begun to resonate. Bennett now included long passages from other newspapers that denounced Webb. And they all suggested that Webb was a threat to civilized discourse. The Transcript, another penny paper, asked if Webb will "be allowed to take his editorial chair and will the public take his paper from his bloody hands?" The Sun pointed out that Webb's "turbulent spirit" had "more than once carried him to Washington on similar errands." Does Webb, asked the Sun, "stand ready to defend his paragraphs with his pistol case?"[74] Newspapers of all stripes denounced the duel and Webb; but the above passages show more than a general censure: they all show horror that ideology and newspapering would be coupled together. Will laws be abandoned? Will the public buy from bloody hands? Will the editor defend himself not with words, but with bullets? The editors had found a better method than violence, the newspaper business, and were now threatened by the ideological and violent Webb.

It is impossible to evaluate the veracity of Bennett's report of the following week that "over one hundred and fifty young men have enrolled themselves, for the purpose of inflicting a marked personal indignity on James W. Webb, or any of his associates, the first time they are seen in the streets." But Bennett used this report to condemn these "young men" and Webb. By getting in the middle of two bellicose sides, Bennett had cast himself in the role of helpful moderator, while at the same time plotting the demise of his rival's paper. "No, no, no," Bennett cried in his column at the prospect of more violence. "Let the moral, legal, and respectable inhabitants of New York, only indicate their horror at the late doings, by calmly, but firmly withdrawing all patronage, all subscriptions, all advertisements, from the blood-stained sheet."[75]

The pennies had taken the measure of the ideological and violent Webb and had seen something in him that represented the age as a whole. But many representations of ideology and violence-- the labor press, the violent street struggles, the anti-abolitionist mobs-- all abated by the late thirties. Schiller points out the labor press did not survive the Panic and ensuing depression of 1837, and that the pennies did survive.[76] Similarly, a leading historian of Jacksonian violence writes that violence declined after the Panic (Webb himself would fight one more duel, for which he would be tried, convicted, and briefly jailed, and even he would become more respectful of the law), in part due to lagging funds for both abolitionist and anti-abolitionist groups.[77] And while some mainstream partisan and commercial newspapers would survive in one form or another until the Civil War, after the panic none would keep up with the success of the pennies.[78] But why did the pennies survive the Panic? Only one explanation seems plausible: that the public accepted the pennies' rejection of divisiveness, partisanship, and violence.

If we accept as a component of "objectivity" the notion of the journalist as a passive participant, a mirror if you will, then Webb can be seen as anti-"objective": violence and uncontrolled rage are the opposites of the "objective" mind. The word, "detachment," with all the implications of pulling oneself out of one's life, is still problematic, but we can concede that Webb's violence, including his mob actions, duelings, and beatings, show that the editor could separate his mind from his body less successfully than Bennett could. Bennett, with his humorous looks at his own misfortune, had retained Webb's passion (he is not what we would recognize as a "dispassionate" modern journalist) but had transformed it. Although Bennett used aggressive rhetoric, it was contained in the columns of his paper. Bennett and his penny confreres detached themselves from Webb's brand of ideology and violence.[79]

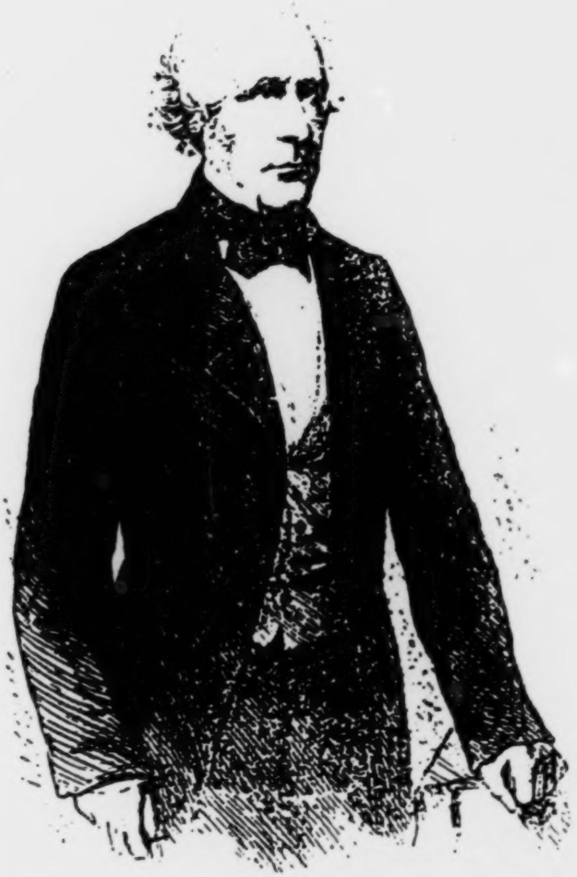
Conclusion

The birth of the penny press came not from democracy and a rising middle class, and not only from factors already acknowledged-- sensationalism, urbanization, the rise of literacy, and technological advances--but also as a response to a difficult and violent era. For if we accept Prince's notion that the middle 1830s was violent because it was the first time in the nineteenth century that neighbors felt that their interests were incompatible, we are struck by the pennies' creation of an opposite paradigm: that neighbors could transcend party and share interests, specifically the interest in buying a nonpartisan paper. The pennies, in replacing divisive ideology and violence with nonpartisanship and the rhetoric of "objectivity," had discovered an inexorable business idea, one which would remain with journalism well beyond the Jacksonian era.

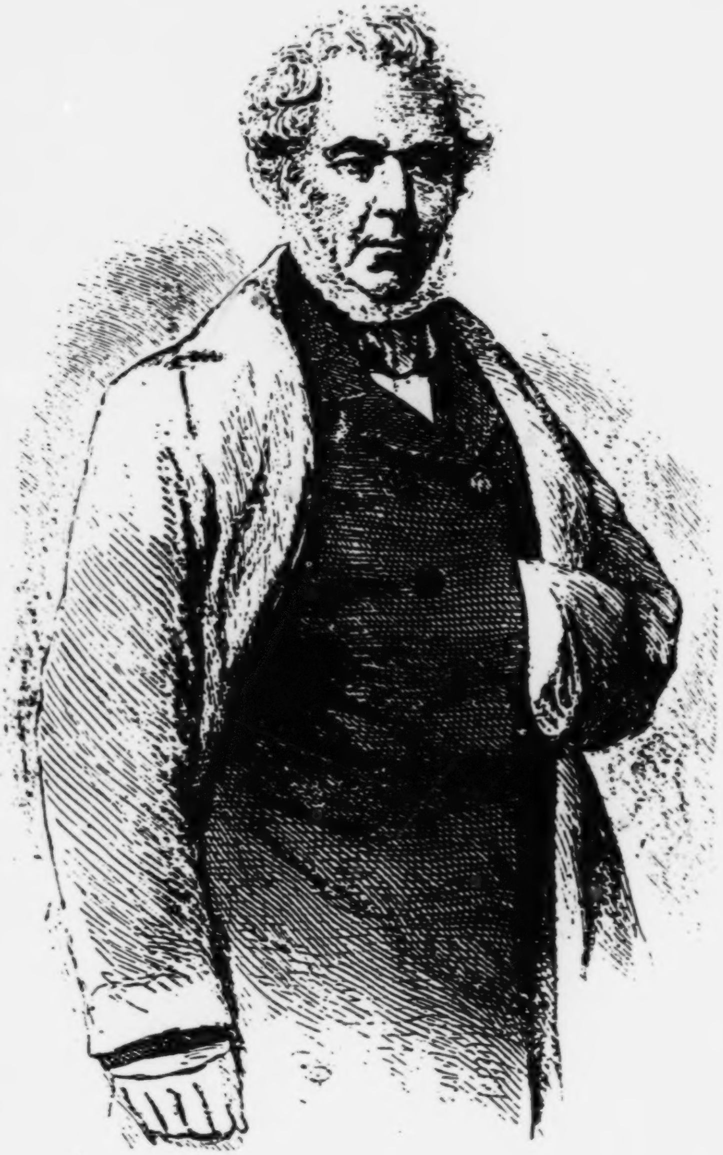
Bibliographic Essay

The chief sources for this research are the newspapers themselves. Bennett's New York Herald and Webb's Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer are undervalued but rich resources for historians of the period. For the Jacksonian period, the best synthesis is still Edward Pessen's Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), a thorough rebuttal to Schlesinger and the "progressive" historians. Another excellent (and more recent) synthesis is Charles Sellers' The Market Revolution : Jacksonian America, 1815-1846 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). Other books helped to clarify the inequalities and violence of the era, notably Leon F. Litwack's North of Slavery: the Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); Kenneth S. Greenberg's Masters and Statesmen: The Political Culture of American Slavery (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985); Richard Ellis' The Union at Risk: Jackson Democracy, States' Rights, and the Nullification Crisis (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Paul A.Gilje's The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1783-1834 (Chapel Hill:University of North Carolina, 1987); and Leonard L. Richards' Gentlemen of Property and Standing: Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

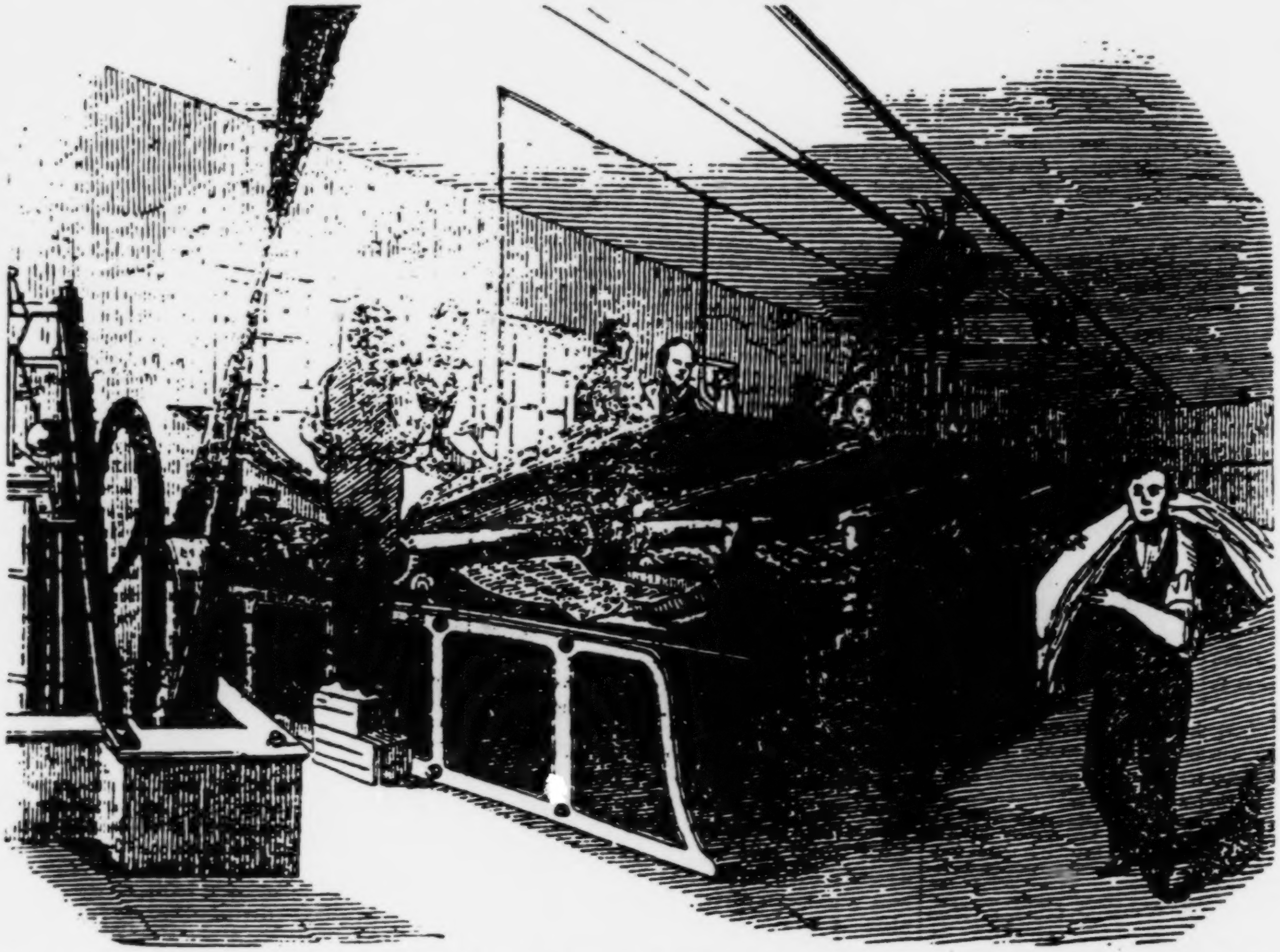
James L. Crouthamel's Bennett's New York *Herald* and the Rise of the Popular Press (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1989) and James Watson Webb, a Biography (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1969) are they best biographies of the two editors, even though Crouthamel himself points out that much of what we know of Bennett comes from his columns.



A likeness of James Gordon Bennett from Harper's Weekly, 10 July 1858. Bennett, cross-eyed and awkward, once remarked that he was turned away from a brothel for being "too ugly." (Stephens, A History Of News, p. 352). [Library of Congress]



James Watson Webb as he appeared in Harper's Weekly, 4 September 1858. [Library of Congress]



HERALD ESTABLISHMENT--THE PRESS-ROOM.

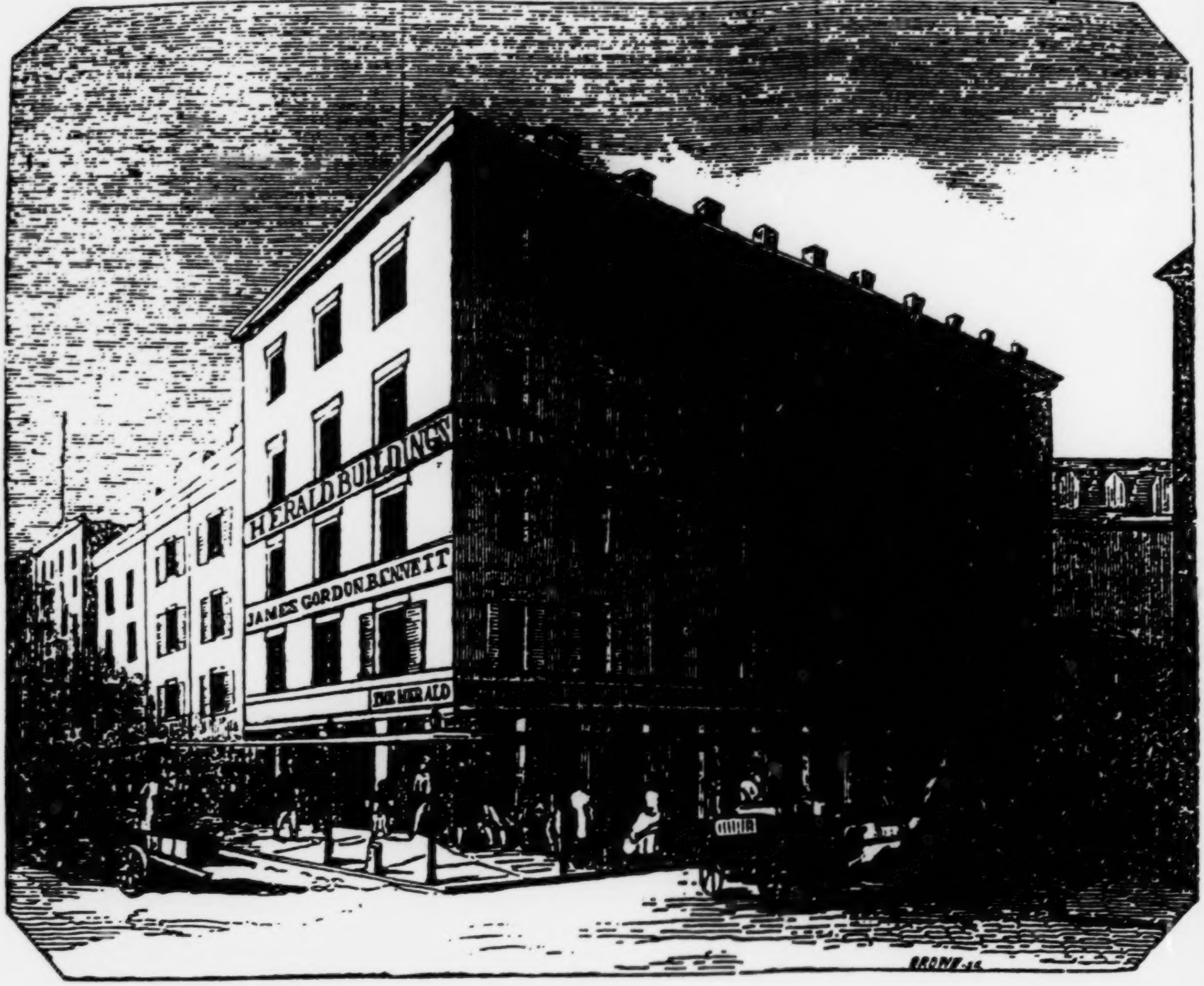
[illegible] —The engraving which heads

Another convenience is in the shape of a carriage, containing the printers ink to supply all these

from the mail room in front, is placed a long desk or table, in the press-room, where the pap

"THE HERALD ESTABLISHMENT--THE PRESS ROOM" The double-cylinder steam presses at the Herald's office are starting their daily run. The two modern presses, according to Bennett, "are capable of throwing off 5,000 copies per hour each." By four in the morning, the news carriers, about twenty in number, gather to deliver the paper by subscription. By six o'clock, "several hundred" newsboys gather to hawk the Herald on the streets of New York [Herald, 28 August 1845].

THE HERALD ESTABLISHMENT. 8/27-45


HERALD BUILDINGS
JAMES GORDON BENNETT
THE HERALD
BROWN sc

[illegible] impression of the extent and ca[illegible] [illegible]ly increased temperature from steam, but is a [illegible] of the floor. On the front, four spacious apartment[illegible]
[illegible]ty of this important establishment it is also [illegible] are connected [illegible]

"THE HERALD ESTABLISHMENT" In August 1845, Bennett ran a series of sketches of his business. The sturdy five-story building reflects the success of Herald, which by this time had passed Webb's Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer to become New York's top selling newspaper [Herald, [27 August 1845].

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[1] Mitchell Stephens, A History of News: From the Drum to the Satellite (New York: Viking, 1988), pp. 207-208.

[2] Herald, 21 April, 4 May, 18 April, 10 May 1836.

[3] Herald, 21 April, 30 April, 7 May, 20 April 1836.

[4] James L. Crouthamel, Bennett's New York *Herald* and the Rise of the Popular Press (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1989), p. 26.

[5] In the context of the Jacksonian era, "nonpartisan" means that for the first time since the ratification of the Constitution in 1789, U.S. newspapers would increasingly separate themselves from direct affiliation with political parties.

[6] Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books, 1978), p. 15.

[7] John C. Nerone, "The Mythology of the Penny Press" with criticism by Michael Schudson, Dan Schiller, Donald L Shaw, and John J. Pauly, (in Critical Studies in Mass Communication, December, 1987), pp. 387. Nerone argues an opposite point, that the pennies' circulation may have been high, but that their readership may have not been significantly higher than the shared elite newspapers. Nerone and his critics offer an interesting discussion of this period.

[8] Carl Prince in The Federalists and the Origins of the U.S. Civil Service (New York: New York University Press, 1977) discusses the inns of the Federalist era as a place to read and be read to. The inns, post offices, printers, and newspapers were often connected through political affiliation, and during the years before Jefferson's Presidency in 1801, were generally Federalist (224-225). Circulation did not depend on the number of subscribers. However, the pennies did vastly increase personal ownership of newspapers.

[9] Schudson, Discovering the News, p. 13; Daniel Schiller, Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), p. 12.

[10] James L. Crouthamel. James Watson Webb, a Biography (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1969), pp. 31; Herald, 21 April 1836, p. 1. The rise in circulation was facilitated by advances in printing technology, although Schudson argues in Discovering the News (pp. 33-34) that the advances generally followed the need established by the increases in circulation. The growing urbanization of the Northeast, coupled with a rise in literacy, is also frequently cited by historians as important in the rise of the penny press (Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960 (Third Edition. New York: Macmillan Co., 1962), pp. 304-305; Schudson, Discovering the News, pp. 35-39)

[11] There is a rich literature on the pre-penny press and the political aspects of printing. For the Federalist period press, see Prince's The Federalists, especially pp. 183-225 or his "The Federalist Party and the Creation of a Court Press, 1789-1801." (In Journalism Quarterly, 1976, pp. 238-241). Also see Donald Stewart's The Opposition Press of the Federalist Period (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1969) Eugene Perry Link's Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790-1800 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942) ; the introduction to Nobel Cunningham Jr.'s Circular Letter of Congressmen to Their Constituents 1789-1829. (Vol 1: 1789-1807. Williamsburg, VA: University of North Carolina Press, 1978); and Gerald Baldasty's The Press and Politics in the Age of Jackson (Journalism Monographs, Columbia, SC: Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1984), especially pp. 7-21. Baldasty's monograph is informative and thorough, but focuses on the partisan press at the expense of the pennies.

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[12] In Gerald J. Baldasty's The Commercialization of the News in the 19th century (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), esp. pp. 124, the author presents evidence that political news declined and crime and other news rose after the advent of the pennies; the New York Transcript is quoted in Willard G. Bleyer, Main Currents in the History of American Journalism (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1927), p. 167.

[13] Mott, American Journalism, p. 215; Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, The Press and America: an Interpretive History of the Mass Media, 6th edition (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1988), p. 114. The Emerys do not explain how one might express oneself without a "view"; Stephens, A History of News, p. 205.

[14] Schudson, Discovering the News, pp. 44, 56, 16.

[15] Michael Schudson, Discovering the News, p. 3. First of all, as Mitchell Stephens points out in A History of News, (and a quick perusal of pre-Jacksonian papers will support this) journalists had been claiming fairness, balance, and truthfulness, crucial elements of "objectivity," since well before the American Revolution. (see especially in Stephens, pp. 57, 256-270). And the very presence of the newspapers proves that "news" existed before the 1830s. In fact, Schudson himself, when he discusses the era before "'news' itself was invented" writes "newspapers had increasingly tried to be up-to-date, especially in reporting the arrival of ships and in printing the *news* they brought with them" (italics mine). (Schudson, Discovering the News p. 26). For the literature on the pre-penny "news" see footnote 11, above.

[16] Schudson, Discovering the News, p. 12.

[17] Schudson, Discovering the News, pp. 57-58.

[18] Schudson, Discovering the News, pp. 43-44.

[19] Schlesinger's The Age of Jackson (New York: Book Find Club, 1945) is widely seen by historians as the culmination of the "progressive" school, which viewed the period, and American history as a whole, as a conflict between the people and special interests. Jackson and his associates, according to this view, represent the "people." Much of what came after Schlesinger responded to this interpretation. Bray Hammond's Banks and Politics in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957) departed from Schlesinger's view that the elite controlled the Bank of the United States and Jackson and "the people" opposed it. The Democrats, Hammond argues, were impelled to fight the B.U.S. less for idealistic reasons than for a desire for speculation unrestrained by a strong bank. Richard Hofstadter, in The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It (New York: Vintage, 1974) cautions against comparing the genuine achievements of the New Deal with Jacksonian Democracy, which was, in many ways, a vehicle for "small capitalists"(pp. 70-71). By the time Edward Pessen's Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics (Homewood, Il.: Dorsey Press, 1969) was published, a new critique of Jacksonian "democracy" was emerging, based not on economics or politics as much as on social aspects of the era. Lee Benson, in The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961) suggests that class may not have been as important as ethnic, religious, or national background in molding party identity. Others, such as Leon F. Litwack in his North of Slavery: the Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961) looked at specific communities and concluded that the age of Jackson was anything but democratic. The plight of women, African-Americans, and native-Americans in the Age of Jackson is, as Schlesinger himself admits in hindsight, "shamefully out of mind." (Gerald N. Grob and George A. Billias' Interpretations of American History: Pattern and Perspectives [Vol. 1. New York: Free Press, 1992], pp. 281). Pessen uses the new "social historians" in his critique of the "progressive" school. Since Pessen's book, much has been written about the age of Jackson, and the notes that follow will provide a representative group from the revisionist "social historians." There are a number of good historiographies of the Jacksonian age. Grob and Billias' Interpretations of American History, pp. 254-269 is a good introduction to the topic; also see Pessen's Jacksonian America, pp. 329-367; Sean Wilentz's "On Class and Politics in Jacksonian America" In Reviews in American History, v 10. 1982; and Daniel Feller's "Politics and Society: Towards a Jacksonian Synthesis" in Journal of the Early Republic, V. 10, 1990, p. 135.

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[20] Edward Pessen, Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), pp. 100, 327. Here, as elsewhere, I quote from the second edition (1978). While the edition comes after Schudson's, the first (1969) edition, which precedes it, contains nearly identical quotes and is no less emphatic in its revision of the "progressive" school.

[21] Schiller, Objectivity and the News, p. 10; p. 17.

[22] As I shall discuss in the following pages, Webb had switched parties after receiving "loans" from the head of the Bank of the United States, Nicholas Biddle.

[23] Herald, 19 January 1836. For part of the early pennies' history, the first page of the newspaper was for advertisements. On this day, the "disclosures" were published on page 2, column 1; Herald, 20 January 1836; Herald, 21 January 1836.

[24] Herald, 21 January 1836.

[25] Herald, 23 January 1836; Circulation figures are unreliable, as Nerone (q.v., 386) points out, but certainly the Sun and probably the Herald were overtaking Webb's paper by this point.

[26] Herald, 22 January 1836.

[27] Schiller, Objectivity and the News, pp. 33-40.

[28] Isaac Clark Pray, Memoirs of James Gordon Bennett and His Times. By a Journalist (New York: Stinger and Townsend, 1855), p. 199.

[29] Crouthamel, Webb, p. 40-43. Crouthamel argues that the House committee was biased and used Webb for partisan reasons, to show that the Bank should not be rechartered. Webb himself denied that he knew the source of the "loans." But the evidence against Webb is very compelling. First, Webb's support of the Bank grew stronger as each loan was received (Crouthamel, Webb, p. 9). Second, within a year of the third "loan" he abandoned the Democratic party altogether, professing "impartiality" but supporting the Whigs, Biddle's party (Ibid, pp. 39-40). And finally, Biddle himself, writing during the year of the questionable "loans," justified paying editors for their support: "If a grocer wishes to apprize the public that he had a fresh supply of figs, the printer whom he employed, for that purpose, never thinks of giving his labor for nothing, but charges him for his trouble in inserting the advertisement. If the Bank, in like manner, wishes a printer to insert information about its concerns, why should it not pay him for his trouble?" (Baldasty, The Press and Politics, pp. 18-19).

[30] Working Man's Advocate, 8 November 1834, quoted in Phillip S. Foner's American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), p. 35.

[31] Pessen, Jacksonian America, p. 81; According to Charles Sellers, "the rise from rags to riches was statistically mythical." The Market Revolution : Jacksonian America, 1815-1846 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 239.

[32] Jack Larkin, The Reshaping of Everyday Life: 1790-1840 (New York: Perennial Library, 1988), pp. 60-61.

[33] For this compelling theory, see Andrea Tucher's "Froth and Scum": Truth, Beauty, Goodness, and the Axe-Murder in the First Years of the New York Penny Press (Dissertation, New York University, 1990), pp. 95-98. See also The Life and Writings of James Gordon Bennett, Editor of the New-York Herald (Author and publisher unknown). Pamphlet, New York, 1844.

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[34] Patricia Cline Cohen, "Unregulated Youth: Masculinity and Murder in the 1830s City" (In Radical History Review, Winter, 1992), p. 44.

[35] Leonard Richards, Gentlemen of Property and Standing: Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), esp. p. 3-19.

[36] The Tappan family of New York City, the chief patrons of abolition, were often the victims of vandalism. Sellers, in The Market Revolution, points out that Tappans were anti-labor. Thus the Tappan family, while great supporters of slaves and free blacks, the most downtrodden segments of antebellum society, were reviled by many whites (388).

[37] George Dangerfield, The Awakening of American Nationalism, 1815-1828 (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. 1-8; Sean Wilentz, Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 23-24.

[38] Washington Irving, The Sketch Book (New York: New American Library, 1961), p. 48.

[39] Crouthamel, Webb, 70; Bennett noted the difference often, as he does in the following editorial: "We do not, as the Wall-street lazy editors do, come down to our office about ten or twelve o'clock-- pull out a Spanish segar-- take up a scissors-- puff and cut -- cut and puff for a couple of hours-- and then adjourn to Delmonico's to eat, drink, gormandize and blow up our cotemporaries. We rise in the morning at five o'clock-- write our leading editorials, squibs, sketches &c., before breakfast. From nine till [sic] one we read all our papers, and the original communications, the latter being more numerous than those of any other office in New York....We also give audience to visitors-- gentlemen on business-- and some of the loveliest ladies in New York, who call to subscribe-- God bless them. At one, we sally out among the gentlemen and loafers of Wall-street...We dine moderately and temperately-- thank God for his mercies-- read our proofs-- take in cash and advertisements, which are increasing like smoke-- and close the day by going to bed always at ten o'clock.... That's the way to conduct a paper with spirit and success." (Herald, 16 August 1836, quoted in Bleyer, Main Currents, pp. 189-190). Later, as the Herald became increasingly successful, Bennett traveled more and took longer vacations.

[40] Alexis De Tocqueville, Democracy in America (New York: New American Library, 1956), p. 221.

[41] Morning Courier and New York Enquirer, 5 May 1836.

[42] Herald, 6 May 1836.

[43] Herald, 12 May 1836.

[44] Herald and Courier and Enquirer, 29 April 1836.

[45] Pessen, Jacksonian America, p. 103.

[46] See Washington Irving's "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" in The Sketch Book (New York: New American Library, 1961); James F. Cooper's "Leatherstocking" series, especially Deerslayer, Or The First Warpath (New York: New American Library, 1980); Nathaniel Hawthorne's Scarlett Letter, "Young Goodman Brown," and "My Kinsman, Major Molineaux" in The Complete Novels and Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne (Edited by Norman H. Pearson. New York: Modern Library, 1965); and Melville's sea narratives, which include Typee, A Peep at Polynesian Life (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), Redburn: His First Voyage (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969), and, of course, Moby Dick (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964).

[47] See Pessen's Jacksonian America for a general account. For the plight of free blacks, see Litwack's North of Slavery. For women's views on themselves as slaves, see Nancy F. Cott's The Bonds of Womanhood:

"Woman's Sphere" in New England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), the "bonds" in title being both those of friendship and of slavery.

[48] Ronald G. Walters, American Reformers: 1815-1860, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), p. 8.

[49] Pessen, Jacksonian America, p. 172.

[50] Pessen, Jacksonian America, pp. 69; Keith J. Hardman Charles Grandison Finney (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1987), pp.151-152. The idea that God is present in humans was not developed, but popularized by the revivalists. The Quakers, for example, believed this long before the Jacksonian era.

[51] William S. McFeely, Frederick Douglass (New York: Touchtone, 1991), p. 123; Pessen, pp. 68-70.

[52] Hardman, Finney, pp. 262-267. Finney was an influential and fascinating figure of the Jacksonian era. In addition to his preaching, he went on to become one of the early presidents of the progressive Oberlin College.

[53] Herald, 1 September 1845.

[54] Herald, 21 April 1836.

[55] Herald, May 10, 1836; for the reference to Moses, see Stephens, p. 242.

[56] Richards, Gentlemen of Property and Standing, pp. 3-19.

[57] Richards, Gentlemen of Property and Standing, p. 29.

[58] Crouthamel, Webb, pp. 72-76.

[59] Larkin, The Reshaping of Everyday Life, p. 286; In The Market Revolution, Sellers shows that liquor consumption peaked in the 1830s (p. 260).

[60] Carl Prince, "The Great 'Riot Year': Jacksonian Democracy and Patterns of Violence in 1834" (in Journal of the Early Republic, Vol. 5, Spring, 1985), pp. 18-19.

[61] Pessen, Jacksonian America, p. 321.

[62] Dangerfield, The Awakening of American Nationalism, p. 46-50; Jackson killed "any and all Indians wherever he could," writes Sellers in The Market Revolution, p. 98.

[63] Pessen, Jacksonian America, 172; Robert V. Remini, Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Democracy, 1833-1845 (Vol. 3. New York: Harper and Row: 1984), p. 51.

[64] Remini, Andrew Jackson, pp. 227, 434, 69.

[65] New York Evening Post, 4 February 1835.

[66] Prince, "The Great 'Riot Year,'" pp. 1-2.

[67] Litwack, North of Slavery, pp. 123-131.

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[68] Richard Hofstadter and Michael Wallace, *American Violence: A Documentary History* (New York: Knopf, 1970), p. 477; Prince, "The Great 'Riot Year,'" pp. 18 and 7.

[69] Kenneth S. Greenberg, *Masters and Statesmen: The Political Culture of American Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), pp. 23-24.

[70] Greenberg, *Masters and Statesmen*, pp. 144-146.

[71] Schiller, *Objectivity and the News*, pp. 39-40.

[72] The above was gleaned from the New York *Herald* of 26 and 27 February 1838; Crouthamel's *Webb*, pp. 72-73; and Greenberg's *Masters and Statesmen*, pp. 28-39.

[73] *Herald*, 28 February 1838.

[74] *Transcript* and *Sun*, 27 Februrary 1838, quoted in the 28 February *Herald*.

[75] *Herald*, 3 March 1838.

[76] Schiller, *Objectivity and the News*, p. 46.

[77] Richards, *Gentlemen of Property and Standing*, p. 157.

[78] The *Courier and Enquirer* declined after the birth of the pennies; the pennies and former pennies, by the early 1850s, including the *Sun*, *Herald*, *Tribune*, and *Times*, were the leading New York papers, for outpacing the commercial and mercantile press [Crouthamel, *Webb*, pp. 149-150].

[79] I thank Mitchell Stephens for his help in formulating the ideas of this section.

THE FIRST COLLEGE JOURNALISM STUDENTS: ANSWERING ROBERT E. LEE'S OFFER OF A HIGHER EDUCATION

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THE FIRST COLLEGE JOURNALISM STUDENTS: ANSWERING ROBERT E. LEE'S OFFER OF A HIGHER EDUCATION

Introduction

The recently-completed academic year of 1994-95 marked the passing of a milestone in the history of journalism and mass communication education. It was exactly 125 years ago, during the term of 1869-1870, that the first class of journalism students ever assembled at a college or university in America enrolled at Washington College, now known as Washington and Lee University, in Lexington, Va.

The anniversary passed largely unnoticed by both the press and academia because other events are more often commemorated as the beginning of journalism education in America, such as the founding of the University of Missouri School of Journalism in 1908 or Joseph Pulitzer's $2 million endowment to create a journalism school at Columbia University in 1904. Missouri is usually referred to as the first ever school of journalism because it was set up as an administrative unit separate from any other unit or division on the same campus and equal in rank to the university's schools or colleges of law, medicine or education.[1] Columbia's journalism school endowed by Pulitzer did not open its doors until 1912, but the size of the endowment (which was the equivalent of more than $200 million in 1995 dollars) created widespread discussion on journalism education. Pulitzer drew even more attention when he wrote an article explaining his support of journalism education.[2] Other events often cited as the beginning of journalism education are the founding of the University of Pennsylvania's journalism curriculum in 1893 and the establishment of the University of Illinois' journalism curriculum in 1904.[3]

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[1] Earl English, Journalism Education at the University of Missouri-Columbia (Marceline, Mo.: Walsworth, 1988), pp. 2-4.

[2] Joseph Pulitzer, "The College of Journalism," North American Review, May 1904, pp. 641-680. For a more modern view of the effect of Pulitzer's endowment, see James W. Carey's presidential address to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, "A Plea for the University Tradition," Journalism Quarterly, 55 (Winter 1978), 846-855.

Washington and Lee's place in the history of journalism education is hardly prominent today. No mention of it is present in such leading modern journalism history textbooks as The Press and America by Michael and Edwin Emery, The Media in America by Wm. David Sloan, James G. Stovall and James D. Startt, and Voices of a Nation by Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter. Recent widely-acclaimed studies of the history of journalism education portray Washington and Lee's contribution to journalism education as little more than an oddity. A 1987 Journalism Monograph focusing on the history of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication refers to it as "an effort to establish training in printing."[4] An edition of Gannett Center Journal, now known as Media Studies Journal, was devoted to "The Making of Journalists" and used the qualifying phrase "formal origins of journalism education" to describe Washington and Lee's efforts as being distinguished from printshop apprenticeships.[5] In a 1990 book of biographies of noted journalism educators, Sloan referred to it as an effort "Emphasizing printing as an adjunct to the classics."[6]

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[3] A modern popular journalism history textbook, The Press and America, 7th ed. by Michael Emery and Edwin Emery (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1992), p. 517, refers to Pennsylvania as having the "first definitely organized curriculum in journalism" and Illinois as offering the "first four-year curriculum in journalism."

[4] Edwin Emery and Joseph P. McKerns, "AEJMC: 75 Years in the Making," Journalism Monographs no. 104 (November 1987), 2.

[5] Everette E. Dennis, "Whatever Happened to Marse Robert's Dream?" Gannett Center Journal 2 (Spring 1988), 10.

[6] Wm. David Sloan, ed. Makers of the Media Mind (Hillsdale, N.J. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1990), 3.

To neglect the events that occurred in 1869-70 at Washington College as well as key events leading up to that academic year is to overlook an important piece of history. Today, journalism and mass communication is a firmly-established academic discipline offered by colleges and universities across the nation. Studying Washington College's efforts would yield a better understanding of journalism and mass communication education because much of the promise and the shortcomings of this discipline were clearly evident 125 years ago when a class of college journalism students met for the first time.

Journalism Education's Pre-History

The structure of both the media and higher education in the United States made classroom-oriented learning in journalism appear to be of little value during the 1700s and most of the 1800s.

Preparation for the ministry was the most common goal of any student who had a career motive in attending college in early America. The typical college curriculum was restricted to the liberal arts, and studies took place in an atmosphere similar to an academy or a boarding school, reflecting its British roots. In this setting, the ancient Greek education theory that gaining knowledge was simply good within itself prevailed. Some of the primary values educators hoped to pass on to their students were not as much concerned with gaining expertise as they were with overall notions of morality, refinement, maturity and respectability. The possibility that America could benefit from editors concentrating on these kinds of values instead of journalistic method motivated John Ward Fenno to make one of the earliest known statements of support for college training for journalists in 1799:

> The newspapers of America are admirably calculated to keep the country in a continued state of insurrection and revolution. And if it ever again settles into quietude,

> it will not be till their influence is counteracted. The ultimate tendency of their labours, in their now general direction, appears marked in characters as strong and clear as they are formidable and alarming.
>
> I have not the vanity to recommend any preservative, but I cannot concede the propriety of requiring some qualifications and pledges from men on whom the nation depends for all the information and much of the instruction it receives. To well-regulated colleges we naturally look for a source whence such qualifications might in proper form be derived; . . .[7]

John Ward Fenno was far ahead of his time. His father, John Fenno, the founder of the Gazette of the United States, was a former schoolteacher, unlike his contemporaries who usually became editors only after service as a printer's devil.[8] But the Fennos were an exception because the typical way to learn about journalism in early America was to gain an apprenticeship in a print shop. It was a tradition that was centuries old that could be traced back to the famous German printer Johann Gutenberg and reaffirmed by the printing apprentice backgrounds of such noted early American journalists as Benjamin Franklin and Isaiah Thomas.

Most early American journalists were printer/journalists, and this factor did much to shape the direction of journalism education. The most overt expression of this influence is the vocabulary of journalists; the names of many of the writing forms and methods that were to form the bases of lessons originated from printing terms, such as scoop, slug, sidebar, headline and byline. These terms gave journalism strong identification as a trade rather than a profession, and such an identity was supported by a perceived need for an apprenticeship period, the allowing of time and space to dictate how much or how little could be published, and various assembly-line tactics that characterized the work of printers. Trade values conflicted with the traditional values of the academy, but they were state of the art at the time in journalism and thus deserving of a prominent place in a journalistic education.

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[7] Gazette of the United States (Philadelphia), 4 March 1799.

[8] Emery and Emery, 62-63.

In 1834, Duff Green, editor of the United States Telegraph, put together a proposal for what would have amounted to be the earliest known formal school of journalism, which was to be called The Washington Institute. Green intended to establish a "manual labor school" which would enroll about two hundred boys between the ages of eleven and fourteen. The boys were to work eight hours a day in the Telegraph print shop and devote five hours a day to classes in language, arts and sciences. The ultimate benefit of the school, according to Green, would be to raise the standards of the press in America. Graduates of the school who learned their lessons well would be intelligent individuals who would be too ethical to allow their printing presses to be used as a tool of partisan politics, Green argued.

However, local Washington printers who formed the Columbia Typographical Society pointed out a more nefarious scheme behind The Washington Institute. Green's plan to raise the standards of journalism also included paying students for working in his print shop at a rate far below what a journeyman printer earned, eventually creating a larger pool of printers who would be forced to accept lower wages or pursue another line of work. Printers reacted by refusing to work for Green, cutting off the skilled labor he needed to support his own newspaper, which was widely known for its partisan politics. By late 1834 Green was forced to abandon his proposal for The Washington Institute before it could be put into action to save his own business.[9]

During the second half of the nineteenth century American higher education changed rapidly. It was a time in which the German university was very much admired and studied by

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[9] Arthur J. Kaul, "The Washington Institute: Printers and the Radicalization of an Urban Labor Network," paper presented at the Social Science History Association annual meeting, Chicago, 3-6 November 1988, 15.

American educators. In the Germanic model of higher education, lessons were based on systematic methods of inquiry and the university was viewed as a laboratory designed to develop experts and scholars.

At the same time the growing industrial revolution profoundly affected America. And despite liberal education ideals that conflicted with the mechanized movement, institutions of higher education came to embrace the industrial revolution after the Morrill Land Grant Act was passed in 1862. The Act provided thousands of acres of land for the establishing of colleges that would offer teaching specifically in fields of a practical and industrial nature. As education historian Laurence R. Veysey noted, colleges then took on a new role more concerned with a utilitarian function in society. This new role encouraged colleges to revise their curricula, organize specialized departments of knowledge, and thus take the lead in helping to industrialize society.[10]

Thus, the conditions of the middle and late 1800s made the time ripe for journalism education. In 1856, a year before Congressman Justin Smith Morrill of Vermont introduced his land grant bill, George Lunt, a former U.S. attorney for the District of Massachusetts, suggested the press could be improved with "a college, or a commission established, to settle upon a firmer and fairer basis the theory of editorial qualifications . . . ."[11] In 1857 the board of directors of Pennsylvania State University proposed adding journalism to its curriculum to the state legislature.[12] In 1864 a prominent magazine, The Independent, printed an anonymous letter to the editor that called for a "College for the Training of Editors." The letter writer alluded to the land grant act in arguing that if schools for lawyers, doctors, ministers, and farmers were justified, so were journalism schools.[13] In 1869 Norman J. Coleman, a St. Louis journalist who would later become the nation's first secretary of agriculture, proposed offering study in journalism at the University of Missouri.[14]

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[10] Laurence R. Veysey, The Emergence of the American University (Chicago: University Press, 1965), 142. Note: A strong discussion of Veysey's argument in relation to journalism in higher education is contained in Douglas Birkhead and James W. Carey, "Journalism Education and the Structure of the American University," paper presented to the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Corvallis, Oreg., 6-9 August 1983, 13.

[11] George Lunt, Three Eras of New England (Boston: n.p., 1857), 107; quoted in Hazel Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1989), p. 218.

Journalism at Washington College

Under the leadership of Robert E. Lee, Washington College came to embrace recent developments in higher education and built a reputation as a bold innovator.

In late August 1865 Lee was offered the position of president of Washington College. Less than five months before at Appomattox Court House, Va., he had surrendered as commanding general of the Army of Northern Virginia, and just six weeks after his defeat the last of the rebel troops surrendered to end the Civil War.

Lee accepted the job primarily because it gave him the opportunity to play a major role in helping to rebuild the South.[15] At the time Lee was under indictment for treason to the

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[12] De Forest O'Dell, "The History of Journalism Education in the United States," Contributions to Education, no. 653 (New York: Columbia University, 1935), 1.

[13] "A College for the Training of Editors," The Independent 9 June 1864, repr. 15 June 1914, 480.

[14] William H. Taft, "Establishing the School of Journalism," Missouri Historical Review, 84 (October 1989), 63.

[15] Lee's personal correspondence during this period thoroughly supports this argument. Strong discussions of this point are present in leading biographies of Lee. See Douglas Southall Freeman, R.E. Lee: A Biography , vol. 4 (New York: Scribner's, 1935), 420-432 or Charles Bracelen Flood, Lee: The Last Years (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981), 87-102.

United States for his service to the Confederacy, he was living in a borrowed tenant farmer's house, both he and his wife were in bad health, and he was barred from the military profession in which he had spent the past 35 years of his life. On the other hand, he was receiving lucrative offers, including a job as a figurehead president of an insurance company for six times the salary he was given by Washington College.[16] Lee could have even extended the war; a simple suggestion from Lee would have furnished enough encouragement to many Confederate soldiers to carry on a guerrilla struggle for years. But Lee not only rejected this option, he made it a standard policy to encourage former rebels to accept amnesty and swear the controversial oath of allegiance to the United States despite the federal government's refusal to accept Lee's personal oath.[17]

Lee was a supporter of the classics and praised students' work in areas such as latin and philosophy. But he saw that the best way he could help students begin the job of rebuilding the South was to give them opportunities to develop specific skills. Communities across the South were devastated by the war, and their recovery would be very much dependent on a variety of competently-trained professionals. "The importance of a more practical course of instruction in our schools and colleges," he wrote, "which, while it may call forth the genius and energies of our people, will tend to develop the resources and promote the interests of the country."[18]

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[16] Flood, 108.

[17] Union General George Meade visited Lee in Richmond in May 1865 and asked Lee to take the oath. Lee told him he might take the oath, but not until it was clear to him what the federal government's intentions were. Later President Andrew Johnson announced the government's official policy that "clemency will be liberally extended" to all those who take the oath or ask for pardons. Lee asked Johnson for a pardon and began encouraging others to do likewise, but Johnson never replied to Lee's pardon application. On October 2, the same day he officially accepted the job as president of Washington College, Lee signed the oath of allegiance to the United States and had it sent to Washington. However, no government official ever acknowledged receiving it, and it was not found until 1970 in a bundle of papers in the National Archives. In 1975 Lee's citizenship was restored posthumously by an act of Congress. See Flood, 53, 60, 63 and 99-100.

During the first three years of Lee's administration nearly every phase of life at Washington College was re-directed and re-organized. The faculty, which consisted of just four members at the end of the war, was now more than triple in size. Enrollment, which was about 50 when Lee was inaugurated, had swelled to more than 400. In autumn 1865 the school was near bankruptcy, but Lee's fund-raising helped build an endowment of $225,000 to keep it alive. During the war the college was limited to teaching primarily Greek, latin, mathematics and natural philosophy, but between 1865 and 1868 the curriculum changed radically with Lee's emphasis on practical education. An elective system was introduced, and science offerings and engineering studies were expanded.

The first official action toward establishing journalism education came when Lee met with the college's trustees in June 1868 to review the progress made during the course of the third year of his presidency. Satisfied with the direction the college was taking, the trustees authorized the faculty to begin planning extensions of the college's "scientific and practical departments."[19] The faculty organized a committee under the supervision of Lee to work on the planning, and Lee and the faculty held meetings during the 1868-69 school year to discuss their work. "The great object of the whole plan," Lee wrote, "is to provide the facilties required by the large class of our young men, who, looking to an early entrance into the practical pursuits of life, need a more direct training to this end than the usual literary courses. The proposed departments will also derive great advantage from the literary schools of the college, whose influence in the cultivation and enlargement of the mind is felt beyond their immediate limits."[20]

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[18] Freeman, 421, quoting Lee letter to unnamed correspondent, 18 January 1867.

[19] Lee used these specific words in referring to the proposed new divisions of the college. R.E. Lee letter to the finance committee of Washington College, 8 January 1869, repr. in 1869-70 Catalogue of Washington College, appendix, p. 64.

At one of these meetings held on March 12, 1869, professor William Preston Johnston presented his report which was to make journalism education history. As a part of the plan, Johnston called on the trustees to offer scholarships to students who "propose to make printing and journalism their profession."[21] Johnston's report included the following three resolutions which were unanimously adopted by Lee and seven other faculty members present at the meeting:

> Resolved: That the Board of Trustees be required to authorize the faculty to appoint to scholarships, to be called the ____________ Scholarships, not exceeding fifty in number, young men intending to make practical printing and journalism their business in life, such scholarships to be free from tuition and college fees, on condition that when required by the faculty they shall perform such disciplinary duties as may be assigned them in a printing office or in other positions in the line of their profession, for a time equal to one hour in each working day.
>
> Resolved: That the Board of Trustees be requested in order to carry the foregoing provision into effect, to make such arrangements for or with a Printing Office as may afford practical instruction and so far as practicable compensated employment in their business to such young men.
>
> Resolved: That the Board of Trustees be requested to authorize the faculty to contract for advertising to an amount not to exceed $5,000, said advertising to be paid for in tuition.[22]

Lee was anxious to have the journalism scholarships and other plans submitted for approval in time to be printed in the 1869-70 catalog, so he proposed them to the trustees at a meeting on March 30, 1869 rather than wait for his regular annual review meeting in June. Lee presented Johnston's exact proposal to the trustees, with the following appendix to explain the faculty's reasons for submitting the proposal:

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[20] Freeman, quoting 1868-69 Catalogue of Washington College , p. 57.

[21] Records (Minutes) of Faculty Washington College, vol. 2 (Sept. 16, 1867-Oct. 11, 1870), p. 113.

[22] Ibid. Note that the exact name of the scholarships was left blank purposely by the recording secretary of the meeting, E. C. Gordon. The word "press" was later inserted after the proposal was approved by the trustees.

> It is respectfully suggested that in the two fold aspect of benefit to the public and to the college, it seems a desirable plan. The public benefits, which it is hoped may result, are first to the individuals proposed as beneficiaries; but far more in both the direct and the indirect influence for good of a body of men educated to the culture and tone proposed for our students, distributed among the newspaper offices of the United States, and by their example and aims, elevating the standards of journalism.
>
> The advantage to the college will be the recognition and appreciation by the press of this mitiatory step for the benefit of that great public interest and its hearty cooperation in the great work of education.
>
> The second resolution recommending an arrangement for or with a printing office to train these young men is intended, as it purports, to give them the proper mechanical training while here, and in some measure to reimburse the college for the expenses of their education. If any surplus accrues beyond this, it should pass to the students' account. It is thought that such a printing office, with cheap labor, might not only do the college printing, but might obtain a large amount of job printing under proper and energetic management, whether in the hands of the college or of a third party, it should prove remunerative. Thus conducted, it would be a practical school of workmanship to the scholars and might also by its facilities for employment enable them to pay their board and other expenses.[23]

The trustees decided to approve the scholarships and the plan to advertise them, but they were concerned about the feasibility of finding a suitable print shop to serve as a third party and requested the faculty to make arrangements with a printer outside the college. At a June 21, 1869 meeting the faculty approved a resolution calling for the recipients of the press scholarships to work at no cost to the college in the employ of Major John J. Lafferty, publisher of Lexington's local weekly newspaper, the Virginia Gazette.[24] Lafferty had agreed to be a part of the plan, and the trustees approved the arrangements with Lafferty & Company at a meeting two days later.

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[23] Lee letter to the Board of Trustees, 30 March 1869.

[24] Records (Minutes) of Faculty, Washington College, vol. 2 (Sept. 16, 1867-Oct. 11, 1870), p. 150.

Lafferty was later appointed "Superintendent of Instruction in Typography and Stenography," thus in effect becoming the first ever journalism educator.[25]

Lee is often credited with developing the whole proposal. Nearly a half-century later the president of the American Association of Teachers of Journalism, the predecessor of the modern Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, would write an account of an interview Lee gave to a New York newspaper reporter on the porch of his home one afternoon in Lexington. Lee was reported to use the interview to ask the reporter questions about the press and its influence and told the journalist, "War is over, but the South has a still greater conflict before her. We must do something to train her new recruits to fight her battles, not with the sword, but with the pen."[26]

However, no clear evidence exists to show that Lee was the sole author of the proposal. Noted Lee biographer Douglas Southall Freeman speculates that it is far more likely that professor Johnston developed the idea.[27] Johnston exhibited an interest in public affairs and was a professor of history and English literature, and Lee's involvement in the idea may have been limited to simply endorsing the proposal. It must be pointed out that a key to the success of Lee as a military leader and as an educational leader was Lee's willingness to consider all options available and to allow his officers and his professors to present new ideas without fear. Lee's biographers point out that Lee was a diligent, hard worker; according to one professor, "He audited every account; he presided at every faculty meeting; studied and signed every report."[28] That the proposal developed under Lee's leadership was a strength according to another former president of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Everette Dennis—"Journalism education could not have had a more elegant and eloquent advocate than Lee."[29]

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[25] Stenography referred to non-printing journalistic skills, such as reporting. According to a 1920s monograph by a Washington and Lee journalism professor, this title was intended to describe a teacher of "Make-Up, Head Writing and Reporting." See Roscoe Ellard, "General Lee and Journalism," Washington and Lee University Bulletin, June 1, 1926, 7. It must also be noted that Lafferty appeared in the 1869-70 college catalogue as "Instructor of Stenography."

[26] James Melvin Lee, "Genesis of Journalism Teaching," Editor & Publisher, May 13, 1916, p. 1563. The accuracy of this article is questionable. It must be noted that when a New York Sun reporter visited the college in 1869, he spoke to professor Johnston, not Lee.

[27] Freeman, 429-430.

On August 19, 1869, flyers containing details on the press scholarships were mailed to tyopographical unions and journalists across the South, and similar advertisements were sent to newspapers. The contents of the flyer (referred to as a circular by the college) consisted of an announcement of the scholarships, the terms applicants would need to fulfill (to be above the age of 15, to be of unimpeachable character and to work in a printshop one hour a day when required) and the conditions of the scholarships (all tuition and college fees free for up to two years).[30]

The scholarships were later limited to 25 students, half to be nominated by typographical unions and the other half nominated by editorial associations. True to Lee's mission to rebuild the South, the unions and associations had to be based in Southern states.[31] The scholarships covered all tuition and fees, an expense that amounted to about $100 per year; however, the scholarship did not cover lodging and meals, which ranged from about $17 to $25 per month, because the college did not exercise control over boarding arrangements.[32] Typographical unions were encouraged to give their nominees additional money to help them pay for their board.

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[28] Flood, 106, quoting Thomas Nelson Page, Robert E. Lee: Man and Soldier (New York: Scribner's, 1911), 661.

[29] Dennis, 11.

[30] Augustus Maverick, Henry J. Raymond and The New York Press for Thirty Years Hartford, Conn.: A.S. Hale, 1870), 355-356.

[31] "Press Scholarships," Southern Collegian, 9 October 1869, p. 1.

During the first year of the existence of the program, five students were confirmed by the faculty to receive scholarships, and in 1870, seven appointments were made.[33]

The Virginia Gazette, at a time before Lafferty was appointed to his superintendent position, expressed surprise upon receiving the Washington College catalogue and seeing the scholarships but also exhibited approval. "Should the idea of the trustees be carried into operation," according to the newspaper, "opportunity will be afforded young men who propose to enter printing offices, of acquiring not simply a plain education in elementary studies, but of securing accurate and extensive scholarship, which will not only be of great service to them in their business life, but must also be of incalculable advantage to the country, in thus securing a large proportion of highly educated men in the printing offices all over the land."[34] After Lafferty & Co. was confirmed as the designated printshop for the program, the Virginia Gazette had even more praise: "This is the first distinct recognition ever made by the so-called centres of wisdom of the true dignity of the press. It acknowledges its importance on the weal and love of the country; and shows a wish to aid in its elevation by the education of those who are to serve in its ranks. . . . We hope to see a fuller exposition of the value of this scheme and of its capabilities for good. To us it seems to lay the foundation on which may rise a superstructure honourable to the architects and glorious to the country."[35]

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[32] Ibid.

[33] William W. Pusey III, The Interrupted Dream: The Educational Program at Washington College (Washington and Lee University) 1850-1880 (Lexington: Liberty Hall Press, 1976), 54.

[34] Virginia Gazette, 2 June 1869, p. 2.

Lee died on October 12, 1870, and later that year the school changed its name to Washington and Lee University. Meanwhile the program to award journalism scholarships appears to have also died soon afterward. By 1871, only five of the students who had been nominated for scholarships still appeared on the roster of students enrolled at the college, and no reference was made to whether they still held the scholarships or if any new students had been awarded scholarships.[36] Throughout 1869-70 the Virginia Gazette had a weekly advertisement of the scholarships, but the ad stopped appearing on September 16, 1870. A notice about the proposed expansion of scientific and practical departments appeared for the last time in the catalogue's1873-74 edition, and the scholarships stopped appearing in the catalogue after 1878. According to Ollinger Crenshaw, a noted expert on the history of the school, "Gradually, in the declining seventies, journalism at Washington and Lee was quietly dropped."[37]

Though no official reason for discontinuing the program was ever given, constant attacks by the press probably played a role in the demise of the program.

Though the program was set up to offer 50 scholarships, according to professor Johnston the number had been cut to 25 because Washington College had become "rather abashed at the torrent of ridicule poured on us by some of the papers of the country."[38] Newspapers such as the Louisville Courier-Journal and Charleston News blended criticism, sarcasm and denunciation in their published reports on the program.[39] The Southern Collegian, Washington College's campus newspaper, pleaded with the press to give the journalism program a chance. "If our friends of the press who have tittered, would cease their tittering, and look to the true interests and honor of their noble profession, we are convinced they would appreciate at least the motives and objects of this college in establishing the journalistic scholarships."[40] It was to no avail. Augustus Maverick, biographer of Henry Raymond of the New York Times, summed up the feelings of many journalists at the time when he called the flyer announcing the scholarships "a curious document" and noted that "the newspapers became facetious over a programme which was inherently absurd."[41] And journalists' views toward Washington and Lee or journalism education were not going to change anytime soon. In 1875 Charles F. Wingate put together a book which profiled twenty-seven leading journalists of this period, and not one of the journalists who addressed a question on the viability of college journalism education would support the idea.

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[35] Virginia Gazette, 17, November 1869, p. 2.

[36] Pusey, 54.

[37] Ollinger Crenshaw, General Lee's College, unpublished typescript, vol. 1, fall 1973, p. 619.

[38] "General Lee's College," New York Sun, repr. Virginia Gazette, 17 November 1869, p. 1.

What particularly riled journalists was the perception that Washington College was setting up an endowed chair of journalism and that students would receive all the training and skills necessary so that they would be ready to become editors immediately upon graduation. Not only was this a controversial idea, but it came to be seen as an outright insult to journalists who had spent years toiling in printshops to develop their journalistic abilities. Associated Press dispatches sent out to newspapers in October 1869 allowed skeptics to draw this perception when it was announced that Lafferty had been appointed to the faculty to direct the college's "typographical and stenographic department."[42] Professor Johnston, in an interview with a reporter from the New York Sun, tried to clear up the misunderstanding. "Now, what we intend is not to make journalists, to make men fit at once for the editorial chair. No," he was quoted as saying in a Sun article. "But we wish to give young men as good an education as possible, in order that afterward, having acquired their journalistic training in a newspaper office, they may make far better and more cultivated editors." In the text of the same article the reporter admitted that Johnston's explanation "put the matter in a different light from what I had seen it before."[43] In 1875 Washington and Lee's acting president, J.J. White, made the explanation even more plain in a letter to Wingate when he wrote that, "There has never been any prescribed course" in journalism at the college and that the object of the scholarships was only to provide a general education to students who someday may want to become journalists.[44] But by 1875, it was already too late for explanations.

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[39] The campus paper attacked these two papers in particular for mocking the program. See "Washington College and the Newspapers," Southern Collegian, 9 October 1869, p. 1.

[40] "A Propos(sic) of the Journalistic Scholarships," Southern Collegian, 23 October 1869, p. 2.

[41] Maverick, 355-356.

Aspirations of the First Journalism Students

Soon after the flyers announcing the journalism scholarships were distributed, a steady stream of letters flowed into Lexington that were addressed to Lee, members of the faculty or the board of trustees from prospective students or people recommending them. The letters are 125 years old, but they display a mixture of pride and enthusiasm that very much resembles the same feelings felt by many of the more ambitious and idealistic college journalism and mass communication students of today.

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[42] No such department ever existed at the college, but the mention of such a department implied that classroom studies of journalism were offered. See "Letter from Lexington," Richmond Dispatch, 21 October 1869, p. 4.

[43] "General Lee's College."

[44] J.J. White letter to Chas F. Wingate, New York City, 25 May 1875, as quoted in Wingate, p. 360.

Even a week before the flyers were mailed, a Clarksville, Va. resident, N. T. Worton, wrote to say he heard of the program from a newspaper article and expressed the hope that all the scholarships had not already been taken.[45]

A common theme among the letters was hope. Some of the letter writers admitted to coming from very poor backgrounds and saw that a journalism scholarship was their only chance of receiving an education. Seventeen-year-old P.J. Stinson of St. Louis, Mo. bragged that he could set type at a rate of 1,000 ems an hour. If he could be awarded a scholarship, he reasoned, "I believe I could set enough type two or three hours each day as would pay for my board. I can set a clean proof, and as far as setting type is concerned consider myself equal to the majority of journeymen."[46] William Chaffee Ivey of Clarendon County, S.C. wrote that he had worked in several printshops but needed a scholarship "on account of having a mother and several small brothers to support and having no way to do it by by laborious work and I hope that you can assist me in getting an education. I now find need of it."[47] Henry Kyd Douglas, a Hagerstown, Md. attorney, wrote letters to a faculty member, the Board of Trustees and the college rector in support of M.W. Boyd, who hoped to transfer to Washington College from St. John's College. Douglas pointed out that Boyd's father was a Baltimore printer who fought gallantly for the Confederate army and lost all his possessions. The son had gained some experience in his father's printshop, and his father, who had since become the editor of a Hagerstown newspaper, hoped his son could get a sound education in order to succeed him as editor.[48] One prospective student who had already been awarded a scholarship wrote that he was forced to abandon his plan to enroll at Washington College because even with the scholarship he was still too poor to attend. "Nothing but this sufficient and lamentable cause impels me to a course so regretful," he wrote.[49]

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[45] N.T. Worton letter to J.M. Leech, 12 August 1869. Leech was Washington College's librarian.

[46] P.J. Stinson letter to William Preston Johnston, 30 August 1869.

[47] Wm. Chaffee Ivey letter to J. Leech, 20 September 1869.

Prospective students were not limited to former printing apprentices. E.L. Jones of Conwayboro, S.C., a private bill collector, wrote that "I am very desirous of quitting my present business and trying to educate myself for (the) Jour(nalism) profession."[50] Henry D. Leon of Augusta, Ga. arrived on the Washington College campus carrying a letter of recommendation from his hometown's typographical union. The letter admitted that Leon had no printing experience, but his brother was a printer and the union was confident that Leon "will tower above all his competitors there if industry, appliance and energy can accomplish so desirable a result."[51]

Some letter writers mixed their comments with personal flattery of Lee and requests for special favors.[52]

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[48] Henry Kyd Douglas letters to the Washington College Board of Trustees, to J.W. Brockenbrough and to William Allan, all on 10 September 1869. Brockenrough was college rector and Allan was a mathematics faculty member.

[49] S. H. Homan letter to the faculty, 9 October 1869.

[50] E. L. Jones letter to J. M. Leech, 5 October 1869.

[51] L. Parrish Ashly letter to William Preston Johnston, 3 November 1869.

[52] See Crenshaw, pp. 615-619, for a selection of letters addressed to Lee. One veteran printer told Lee he considered him a second George Washington. Another experienced printer asked Lee to help him find a job in a warmer climate.

Some unions expressed doubt that they could ever hope to find someone within their ranks that could meet the college's academic standards.[53] Other unions were grateful for the the opportunity to recommend a student and took the time to praise the school for creating such a program. The president of Richmond, Va. Typographical Union No. 90 called the scholarships, "a great and glorious work."[54] Union No. 90 was so proud of the student it had recommended for the scholarship, Charles W. Clemmitt, that it regularly monitored his progress.[55] John Plaxton of the Nashville, Tenn. Union No. 20 wrote to send regrets that his union could not recommend a student at the time but still desired to thank the college for the gesture. Plaxton used the opportunity to give the program one of its most glowing endorsements:

> We look upon this action of Washington College as a very important step toward raising American journalism from the slough of venality, corruption, and party subserviency into which it has too notoriously fallen to the high position it should occupy. It has been truly said that the press is a reflex of the popular mind; and we think it may be made more—a moulder of that mind. Then how imperatively necessary that it should be pure in sentiment, and elevated and dignified in character. Washington College has taken a step in the right direction, the wisdom of which will be more and more apparent as the country reaps the benefits of this farseeing liberality in the purified and healthy tone of its press.[56]

Lessons for Journalism and Mass Communication Education

Journalism education did not die when Washington and Lee University shut down its program in the late 1870s. Less than fifty years after the press scholarships were dropped, students were studying journalism at more than two hundred colleges and universities across America.[57] The list even included Washington and Lee University, which brought back journalism in 1925.

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[53] Crenshaw, 617.

[54] J. T. Vannerson letter to William Preston Johnston, 7 September 1869.

[55] The Richmond Dispatch carried a notice in its 21 October 1869 edition that Clemmitt was "winning golden opinions from his professor and his fellow students." Earlier the Richmond Enquirer printed a short article announcing Clemmitt's selection as a scholarship recipient (as quoted by the Virginia Gazette, 15 September 1869, p. 2).

[56] John Plaxton letter to William Preston Johnston, 6 September 1869.

Based on such evidence, it would be easy to merely conclude that journalism education was simply an idea that was ahead of its time in 1869 and that Washington College's journalism program was just a beginning and not a failure.

But Washington College's experience with journalism education is worthy of closer examination.

In carrying out their program, Lee, Johnston and the rest of the faculty clearly exhibited an attention to careful planning, moral considerations and knowledge of the press. They could not offer a standard classroom-oriented course in journalism with any sense of rigor or credibility. They had no faculty with extensive experience in journalism. No journalism textbooks were in existence. They saw no point in allocating funds to equip the school with a suitable newsroom/laboratory, which by nineteenth century standards would have had to be a printshop. They could have set up courses in journalism that would have consisted of discussion or lectures only, as Yale, Cornell and Missouri did later in the 1870s. They could have built a printshop on campus using student labor to set up a publicity operation for the college that could masquerade as a campus newspaper or even a major in journalism like many small colleges across America did in the twentieth century.

The essence of the Washington College journalism program was an assumption that the press of the South would be best served if it had available to it a strong pool of intelligent, moral and generally competent individuals. They realized that training in printing techniques had to be conducted in well-equipped printing houses under master printers. Some attributes that set editors apart from typesetters, compositors and press operators were writing ability, public affairs knowledge, legal and ethical principles and communication skills. General college curricula could handle much of this kind of training at the time because few specialized reporting and newswriting procedures had become standardized journalistic practice.

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[57] "Editorials," Journalism Quarterly 3 (November 1926): 15.

Much of this kind of thinking is very much alive in today's journalism and mass communication education. Modern journalism students do not study journalism exclusively; they are required to take a wide range of general education subjects and take only one or two courses in their major field each semester, and some schools allow no journalism courses to be taken during the freshman or sophomore years. Washington College's program bears a remarkable resemblance to modern arrangements in that the first students were to devote only one hour per day in the printshop, close to the equivalent of a single course in journalism each semester. And it is clear that steps were taken to avoid abuse of the daily hour in the printshop because much of the college literature specifically mentioned that students would work their hour only "when required," with these words often italicized.

It is also important to note that students were to be paid for every hour they worked in the printshop; the money would be used for the students' board, and extra money earned was also to be given to the students.[58] This very admirable arrangement stands in stark contrast to the many hours modern journalism students are known to put in for free volunteering to work on the staffs of campus newspapers, taking unpaid internships and accepting assignments from journalism instructors for which they receive no monetary compensation. Modern students, as well as many of their predecessors who majored in journalism this century, justify such activities because of the opportunity to receive experience and a byline, but in effect they are actually paying tuition to work for free. Many of the strongest modern journalism schools have specific policies that discourage such exploitation, but even at these schools students often take internships that pay very low wages because of the pressing need to show prospective employers that they have journalism experience.

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[58] Instead of paying the college or the students directly for their daily hour, the Virginia Gazette may have had a standard tradeout agreement in which the college received free advertising in lieu of cash. This arrangement would have allowed the college to pay for the students' board with the $5,000 it had allocated for advertising the program. This could explain why the paper published an ad for the college which was one full column every week for a year. It also may be a sign of the apparent death of the journalism program when the weekly ad stopped in 1870.

Unlike Duff Green's plan, Washington College cooperated with unions, as well as newspapers and journalism organizations. This action won the college compliments from union members, who probably felt flattered that one of the nation's leading institutions of higher education was asking men with little formal education to nominate scholarship recipients.

But many newspaper editors were unimpressed and overly cynical, and it was their views that were printed in the leading mass medium of the day. New York newspapers probably felt that it could be especially appropriate to attack the program because it was taking place at the college presided over by Lee, the man responsible for the deaths of thousands of Union soldiers.[59] In general, the press was upset with the implication that college boys who had not paid their dues working for newspapers could become editors and that a college purported to know enough about the subject to be able to teach journalism. Modern day attacks on journalism and mass communication schools are still largely based on these two fundamental points of contention. Washington College faculty expressed amazement with the criticism. They had set up the program to help elevate the standards of journalism, their faculty included a working editor to supervise the students, they placed stress on non-journalism courses, and they specifically indicated that their graduates were not going to be automatically ready for editor's jobs.[60] But the attacks never stopped even after journalism schools were established in the twentieth century—a tradition of harsh criticism that shows no signs of ever ceasing.

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[59] The full headline over the New York Sun's article on the program was "General Lee's College; The University of Secession Principles; Sentiments of the Students and Professors---Who the Former Are---The Latter's Antecedents---A Talk with Col. Johnston---Gen. Lee in his Seclusion---The Nursery of Secession Doctrines." Under this heading the journalism program looked like part of a crafty plot to start another war.

Washington and Lee is clearly deserving of a prominent place in the history of journalism and mass communication education in America. The university did not offer classes in journalism similar to the usual three credit hour 101-style college course characteristic of late twentieth century higher education. However, there can be no doubt that journalism was indeed a class offered at Washington and Lee, but in a mid-nineteenth century context. It was a specific interest in journalism that attracted a group of young men to Washington and Lee; they identified themselves as students of journalism, they had to fulfill prerequisites and daily requirements just like their contemporaries in other disciplines, and their classroom environment was state of the art for this period in history. Washington and Lee's journalism class did not conclude with a classroom door swinging open at 10 minutes to the hour; instead, the class represented a collection of students who as a minimum requirement put in a full hour daily in the workplace. This type of effort is far more notable than a mere early attempt to train printers.

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[60] Lee personally held that formal education was only the beginning of real learning. Johnston tried reasoning with the New York Sun reporter—"It is like what we do for young men wishing to enter the ministry. We give them that education first, which every cultivated man must have, and then let them study as best they may for the pulpit. And don't you think they will make better ministers than if they did not have that education which we give them?" See "General Lee's College."

What is even more prominent is that a preview of the challenges to come for journalism and mass communication education was present at Washington College in 1869-70. The college exhibited a strong preference for the study of the liberal arts and limited journalistic work for its students—very much like the standards of the modern Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. The appropriateness of this practice is still hotly debated by educators, administrators and media critics. Along the way Washington and Lee also had to grapple with questions concerning what should be the role of internships, just what should journalism students be learning and how to deal with the constant criticism of the media. Journalism and mass communication educators today are still grappling with these kinds of questions—just like their predecessors were 125 years ago at Washington College.

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"BOOKS ARE WEAPONS": BOOKS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

"Would that mine adversary had written a book" ~ Job 31:35

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"BOOKS ARE WEAPONS": BOOKS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

Introduction

In the history of presidential campaigns, candidates have used virtually all media at their disposal to put themselves before the American public. Much has been said and written about the relationship between the candidates and "the press" or "the media," particularly in the age of the sound bite and the photo opportunity. But what about books from a candidate? The quotation in the title of this study is from Franklin Delano Roosevelt,[1] one of the twentieth century's masters of public communication and author of several books, not only before his election but during his tenure as president. Roosevelt was witnessing a belief that books served a powerful communicative function for him, in general and specifically in communication with his constituency.

Many other candidates for the office apparently have held the same view, for the record shows many books written, published, and on occasion even discussed as part of the campaign effort. Books do not spring immediately to mind as an essential, or even an obviously effective, form of campaign communication, especially in the maturity of the broadcast age. Yet as recently as 1992 with Bill Clinton's *Putting People First*[2] -- notably, the first candidate's book to make election-month best-seller lists -- there is evidence that books have been felt to serve the purposes of many presidential candidates, even as broadcast media have come seemingly to dominate the political process. The purpose of this study is to examine that evidence for indications of the role books may have been felt to play in three clusters of campaigns. Of interest will be the kinds of purposes apparently being served by the books, evidence of awareness of that role by candidates or their observers, and suggestions that the advent of radio and television made a difference in quantity or quality of the books involved in candidates' campaigns.

Previous Study on the Subject

To date, no studies specifically on the subject of the use of books as campaign material appear to exist, not surprising given the paucity of material on the social history of books in the twentieth century. Most often the point is made passingly, but one or two writers have noted explicitly that books can and do constitute campaign material.

In 1936, a reviewer at the *New York Times* described the traditional form of the candidates' book:

> The brave words spoken by Presidential candidates, even by those who aspire to be candidates, have a habit of drawing together to form a book. . . . The result is a compilation that, often with reason, can be presented as statement of the great one's political and social philosophy. There have been many such books, and a few of them have made history.[3]

More recently, writing for the Freedom Forum about the quality of writing found among our presidents, John Maxwell Hamilton noted,

> If anything, books have become as indispensable to presidents as Air Force One. In the process of getting elected, they need an autobiography or perhaps a brief book on some public policy issue to show what decent, serious people they are. Later, they need a hefty presidential memoir to earn a little cash and at the same time to justify their administrations.[4]

Methodology

The intent of this study is to present a limited introductory survey to the subject, searching first for evidence of awareness that the books had a campaign-related function -- whether on the part of the authors or the readership -- and then looking at trends or changes in the purpose and type of books as the broadcast media evolved to become a major site of the political battle. Before examining the material, a comment about methodology is unavoidable, since the subject is quite broad given the number of aspirants to the presidency since the beginning of the Union (especially when the vice presidency is often seen as a stepping-stone) and the number of books involved.

The primary limitation was that of time: within the twentieth century -- the "mass media" century -- three clusters of four elections each were chosen to represent the pre-broadcast era (1900, 1904, 1908, 1912), the radio era (1932, 1936, 1940, 1944), and the television era (1960, 1964, 1968, 1972) respectively. Within those clusters of elections, the works associated with the major candidates[5] were considered -- with certain pertinent variations as noted.

Choosing the books to be discussed involved a number of considerations.[6] The focus of the study was on those books published in the year of the election itself; however, works by the candidates prior to the election were also considered as potentially part of the candidate's profile, especially when an incumbent was running for re-election.[7] Lists of candidates' works were compiled first from lists of book reviews[8] in popular literature for the twelve years encompassed by the four-election clusters, augmented with lists from library catalogues and profiles of the candidates in primary and secondary literature.

The primary materials were three-fold. First were the candidates' books themselves, less for their text than for their genre and intent. Second were book reviews that evidenced consciousness of a book's role in a campaign. Third were what were called "campaign books"[9] of a political party -- typically the published record or "text-book" of the national party convention.[10]

The candidates' books fell into three categories: 1. collected speeches and addresses already delivered personally or in another medium; 2. direct addresses to the readership written for the occasion, i.e., a manifesto of observations and/or beliefs; and 3. literary efforts for more-or-less non-political purposes, most commonly scholarly works. Further, the books served either or both of two functions in a campaign: as political communication directed at the readership-electorate, or as evidence of the "measure of the man,"[11] often used by others to demonstrate the candidate's qualities.

The books chosen were all had the pertinent candidate listed as author. However, very often the books were the result of efforts by editors or compilers on the candidates' behalf; frequently an introduction by an editor or another political figure was a significant part of the book's importance. Moreover, suggestions that books by some authors like John Kennedy or Richard Nixon may have been ghostwritten persist in the political folklore. For the purposes of this study, however, the question of actual authorship was deemed irrelevant, since the books were presented to the public at large as having been written by the candidate.

In light of these considerations about how books may have functioned, the study will now examine the three eras for evidence of awareness of the political purpose of the books. Moreover, patterns of constancy or change in both genre and purpose is noted. Further, to the extent that so limited a sample may provide some indication of the effect of the advent of broadcast media on the use of books, that effect is discussed. Following exploration of the candidates' books in the three clusters of elections, a discussion of the findings will be offered, with speculation about implications for further study and the future of books in political campaigns.

The Pre-Broadcast Era

The election of 1900 pitted incumbent William McKinley against Nebraska Democrat William Jennings Bryan. McKinley's running mate was Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, who became president after McKinley died in 1901.[12] Bryan had published only a personal account of the campaign of 1896.[13] In the campaign he apparently relied more on his ability as an orator than as a writer, for Bryan appears to have published nothing expressly timed for the 1900 election. As a congressman, McKinley had published a compilation of speeches given up to 1893[14] and a similar volume in 1896.[15] In 1900 another collection of his speeches was published, which resembled its predecessors except insofar as the speeches were now those of McKinley the president, making the volume in effect a state archive more than political communication *per se*.[16]

Between the 1900 election and that of 1904, however, McKinley's death put one of the most prolific writers of all American presidents into the White House; and the Republican party was to celebrate Roosevelt's scholarship in balance to his image as a statesman and outdoorsman. As *Outlook* magazine crowed, "Not since the Presidency of Thomas Jefferson has a man of letters been the executive head of the United States Government. The present President is a Harvard graduate, and represents the active rather than the contemplative side of Harvard culture."[17]

By the time Roosevelt took office in 1901, he had produced close to twenty books[18] of diverse nature, from books about the outdoor life to scholarly works, including his authoritative history of the War of 1812[19] and his critically acclaimed five-volume *Winning of the West.*[20] While in office, he had continued to write.[21] The Republican *Campaign Text-Book* for the 1904 convention featured a biography of Roosevelt including a lengthy paragraph listing his publications in detail as evidence that "his work as a student of books, meanwhile, never dropped, even while he was most busily engaged in the affairs of current politics or in frontier activity."[22] Once again, his works collectively served to demonstrate the intellectual measure of the man Roosevelt as well as his rough-and-ready personal style.

Among his other works, Roosevelt had published *The Strenuous Life* [23] in 1900. This oft-quoted collection of essays and addresses preached the "doctrine of the strenuous life"[24]; and its exhortative tone was indicative of his public style. It was reissued frequently, including in 1904. In the context of a campaign, such a volume accomplished both as direct communication by the candidate and as evidence of the candidate's style and character. This dual-function efficiency made such books attractive means of presenting a candidate to the electorate, whether or not at the direct instigation of the author-candidate himself.

Similarly efficient in effect, Roosevelt's volume of *Addresses and Presidential Messages*[25] was produced in time for the 1904 election.[26] In Henry Cabot Lodge's introduction, he presented its value to the reader as more than historic record: "At the present moment [these speeches] have the peculiar and most important interest of being the utterances of a man who has not only filled the highest place in the gift of the American people, but who now stands before that people for their direct approbation and for re-election to office."[27] He went on, in similar vein to the *Campaign Text-Book*, characterizing Roosevelt as a man of letters as well as thought and action.

In the introduction, Lodge also bemoaned (perhaps prematurely) the disappearance of the campaign biography[28] because of the "habit of 'writing people up' in the newspapers." He then applauded the opportunity for Roosevelt to put himself before the people in his own words, rather than limiting information to "all the incidents, both real and imaginary, in the career of a Presidential candidate now [in] the daily newspapers."[29] While such direct reference to other media was rarely found in the course of this study, the suggestion that books may afford a means of getting around the limitations of other media is noteworthy.

On his election in 1904, Roosevelt had promised not to seek reelection again in 1908. The Republicans chose William Howard Taft to run against William Jennings Bryan, back for a second try for the presidency in 1908. Bryan's political career was based in his legendary oratorical talents. For the 1908 election, a collection subtitled "Extracts from the Speeches and Writings of 'A Well-Rounded Man'" was published under his authorship, though in fact the book was the editorial effort of its "compiler," Richard L. Metcalfe, who inserted adulatory notes from other authors among the excerpted addresses and writings of Bryan. Metcalfe's hope was that "through the perusal of this little volume, [readers] will know the 'Real Bryan' . . . even as he is known by every Nebraska neighbor who has had the advantage of intimate acquaintance with the man."[30] The idea was, apparently, to bridge the gaps in the press's presentation of Bryan to permit a personal interaction with those he had not spoken to in person.

However, this effort at hardcover political communication may have backfired *because* of Bryan's personal style: the Republican *Campaign Text-Book* vilified Bryan as possessing the worst traits of the (dreaded) journalist, having "no power of analysis, no grasp of fundamental principles, no capacity for serious study, no sense of logical proportion"[31] -- by implication also the worst traits for a potential president.

By contrast, Taft was described in an *Outlook* comment as having produced a book in which he exhibited "the traits which have made Mr. Taft the power that he is in America to-day -- [among others] . . . a judicial spirit, willing to hear both sides of a question . . . [and] a higher regard for substance than for form."[32] Again, the combined purpose of presentation of the man's character *and* his views was served in one book, *Present Day Problems*,[33] which was yet another collection of addresses, which the *New York Times* welcomed saying, "With Mr. Taft the Republican nominee for the Presidency, it is well that the public should have a compendium of his opinions on various topics of public interest."[34] Also likely current at the time of the election was Taft's *Four Aspects of Civic Duty*,[35] a collection of Yale lectures on civil responsibility.

The three-way race in 1912 brought Roosevelt back as an independent, running against incumbent Taft and Democrat Woodrow Wilson. Teddy Roosevelt had been productive since leaving the presidency, traveling, speaking, and churning out books on such diverse subject as ethics, and hunting and travel,[36] as well as having three more compilations of his speeches produced with forewords by supporter Lyman Abbott.[37] In 1912, the election year, *Realizable Ideals,* a series of lectures, appeared, and *The Real Roosevelt,* an edited collection of his speeches was published listing Roosevelt as author, although not clearly at his behest. Even though both were anthologies, the titles suggested that the reader might find explication of the president's views in the first and some revelation of his personality (in the same vein as *The Real Bryan*) in the second.

Meanwhile, a volume of Taft's *Presidential Addresses and State Papers from March 4, 1909 to March 4, 1910*[38] had been published in 1910, which volume the *New*

York Times concluded would leave a favorable impression on its undoubtedly numerous readers,[39] although the *Times* did not specify whether it saw the volume as archival or pertinent to Taft's bid for reelection.

Like Teddy Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson brought with him to the candidacy an established reputation as an author, although in Wilson's case it was primarily that of a scholar.[40] Beyond his authoritative *History of the American People*,[41] his most relevant political works to date had been one collection of lectures on U. S. congressional government in 1885[42] and another on constitutional government published in 1908,[43] which had prompted a *Nation* reviewer of 1910 to observe that it was "a refreshing advent of a scholar in politics who knows books but who also knows men and government."[44] However, Wilson published nothing specifically for the occasion of the 1912 election, and the Democratic *Campaign Book* for the 1912 convention, although having many pages in praise of Wilson's record as a scholar and Princeton president, did not list any of Wilson's works.[45]

By contrast, the adversarial Republican *Campaign Text-Book* for that year found ample use of their own for Wilson's writings. The several-paged attack asserted that "the real sentiments of the average men are more likely to be expressed as a result of their thoughtful study than their expressions at a moment when they are seeking popular support at the polls"[46] and that, therefore, a work such as Wilson's *History of the American People* represents his true and considered beliefs[47] -- many of which the Republican speaker clearly found highly objectionable. Quoting passages from his history to deplore Wilson's political alliances, and generally quarreling with many of Wilson's positions as presented in that and several other of his books, the Republican argument cited books by name and passages by page number. This case might well be described as another (like Bryan's) in which the weapons -- although never forged as such to begin with, since none appear to have been written or compiled specifically with the presidential campaign in mind -- were turned upon their creator.

Over the four first presidential elections of the century, six candidates ran for the office in an era when campaigning meant making speeches in person, often traveling to do so, and finding whatever means were available to get one's ideas and plans into print. Roosevelt and Wilson were both authors irrespective of their political activities, and the sum of their literary works served to illustrate their intellectual prowess, seen at least in that era as desirable in a president. However, as noted, by far the most frequent type of book published on the occasion of a campaign was a compilation of speeches. The purpose may have been to familiarize the populace with the ideas or the man, or best of all, both.

That a book might offer advantages over reliance on newspapers for public exposure is suggested by Lodge's comments about the "imaginary" events published by newspapers, as well as by the Republican convention speaker's suggestion that in books a candidate's thoughts are more thoroughly and truly revealed. Otherwise, not much evidence was found of express recognition that books were part of a candidate's campaign strategy, however the party campaign books offer some intriguing insight on the point.

All four of the Republican campaign books begin with a foreword stating explicitly: "The purpose of this book is to furnish in concise and convenient form for reference such information as is likely to be required by speakers, writers and others participating in the discussions of the presidential campaign. The intelligent American voter demands facts in support of the propositions upon which his vote is asked, and properly so."[48] So early an identification of their audience as, in effect, gatekeepers and/or opinion leaders is startling, and one could wish for similarly explicit description of the target audience for the candidates' works at the time.

The Democrats were less explicit about the purpose of their campaign book, but on the inside cover of the 1908 book was what amounted to a display ad announcing a price of twenty-five cents for the book itself, where to write for it, and the recommendation that "Every Democrat Should Have It."[49] If a book can carry the party's message to the people, by extension it can carry the candidate to the people as well. If explicit consciousness of that purpose in campaign-year publishing is rarely evident, it may be in part because the purpose seemed obvious, especially to a nation used to print media only.

As to the style of the works of this era, one often notes a hortatory, frequently moralizing tone. That tone is, of course, partly attributable to the fact that many of the works were collections of speeches; but both speeches and works written for print tended toward exhortation in fairly formal terms, reminiscent of religious or moralizing tracts of the era. The following passage from Roosevelt's *Strenuous Life* illustrates the rhetorical style of the day; moreover, it will provide an intriguing comparison with passages on a comparable theme in each of the two later eras to be discussed:

> I wish to preach not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life, the life of toil and effort, of labor and strife; to preach that the highest form of success which comes, not to the man who desires mere easy peace, but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph.[50]

The Radio Era

By the election of 1932, radio was firmly entrenched as a national medium. The Democrats nominated Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who was to use radio as no other president would, to run against Republican incumbent Herbert Hoover. Hoover had published a philosophical tract called *American Individualism* a decade earlier, focusing on the concept of "individualism" as the preferred antithesis to "socialism." Otherwise, he published no books while in office nor anything specifically aimed at the 1932 election.

Although Roosevelt was well-educated and a writer, the 1932 Democratic campaign-book biography of Roosevelt downplayed his intellectual pursuits, emphasizing heavily his physical health, strength, and energy, undoubtedly to allay concerns about his residual paralysis from polio.[51] Moreover, no books were listed to his credit until the year of the 1932 election, when he published *Government Not Politics,*[52] a collection of articles, some of which had been published in magazines. A *New York Times* reviewer predicted that "the householder, the farmer, the laborer, the artisan, the business man who is not in the 'captain-of-industry' class, women, social workers and tariff reformers" would enjoy "these maxims on public affairs from the pen of a candidate for the Presidency," which could "be taken as the program of Governor Roosevelt." [53] Though probably not disagreeing with this identification of the non-opinion-leader audience, a Boston reviewer found the book "disappointing as a revelation of his stand on the leading questions of the day and quite toothless and harmless as a campaign document."[54]

In spring of 1933, newly inaugurated President Roosevelt conducted his first radio broadcast in the series of "Fireside Chats." The same year he published *Looking Forward,*[55] a compilation of earlier writings and speeches edited by Roosevelt himself and operating as a sort of hard-cover national pep talk. His writing style, more intimate -- using pronouns of "you" and "I" -- than that in his first book, was the same personalized style used in his radio addresses, which Walter Lippmann characterized as "very unliterary," labeling it "public talk."[56] Roosevelt introduced his own book in the following terms: "In this comment I outline my basic conception [of the new terms of the old social contract], with the confidence that you will follow the action of your new national administration, understanding that its aim and objects are yours and that our responsibility is mutual."[57] The following year he wrote and edited a similar, follow-up book, *On Our Way,*[58] tracking the progress and philosophy of the New Deal. Thereafter, only collections of Roosevelt's addresses -- which included the "Fireside Chats" -- appeared, albeit in three different and quite extensive collections.[59]

The 1936 election brought Republican Alf Landon into the race. The lengthy subtitle of this small and quite portable tome called *America at the Crossroads*, reads: "Alfred M. Landon's Program for American Government. His Interpretation of the Political, Economic and Social Principles of the Republican Party."[60] His *New York Times* reviewer, Francis Brown (quoted above, p. 2) placed the work in the tradition of compilations of the words of presidential candidates and provided some sense of the timing and intent of the book: "Since the Governor is still somewhat of an unknown quantity, it may be that his advisers though it best to rush this expression of his political thought to the country before election day. Ordinarily fuller exposition of the candidate's philosophy would be expected in the closing weeks of the campaign, but possibly all has been said that is to be said, except on specific issues."[61] And he quibbled with Sen. Capper's prediction that "history will judge these utterances as one of the most important documents of the times."[62] Brown's description of this book places it more in the category of manifesto than revelatory of Landon's character, although Capper's introduction was undoubtedly intended to present both Landon's words and the man himself.

The campaign of 1940 appears to have involved no publications from Roosevelt,[63] other than Random House's continuing multivolume archival collection of his writings and speeches (noted above). Meanwhile the radio addresses, included in the collections, continued. No books were found listing his challenger, Wendell Wilkie, as author.

In 1944 a collection of Roosevelt's speeches and writings was edited by labor figure J. B. S. Hardman, with its title drawn from one of the more famous of Roosevelt's addresses, *Rendezvous with Destiny*.[64] In his introduction to this "single handy volume," Hardman expressed "the thought and the hope of the editor, that the selections may prove to be of assistance to the citizen who realizes his vital concern with national policy but lacks two essential conditions of basic study: much leisure time and a rich library at hand."[65] Thus, again in "convenient form" for the voters, this book, too, straddled the line between archival tome and manifesto.

Roosevelt's 1944 opponent Thomas E. Dewey published nothing for the year's election, but a collection of Dewey's speeches arguing with the Roosevelt regime in the 1940 election, *The Case Against the New Deal*,[66] fell well over the line into the realm of tract. Although it is possible his 1940 work was still in print and circulation, apparently Dewey declined to make his case again in a new work for the 1944 election.

Over the four elections in question here, four candidates ran unsuccessfully against a powerful communicator. Compared to the pre-broadcast era, books appeared to play a somewhat lesser role in the radio era. The books that did appear were, once again, most often collections of speeches and addresses.

Many explanations for what seems to be a somewhat reduced reliance on books suggest themselves, only one of which would be that radio might now have become more significant in candidates' efforts to reach the electorate. Other considerations would certainly include the Depression and the war, affecting the availability of materials and money for books, not to mention the focus of the working nation. Yet book publishing in general did not suffer during these years, even if the content of what was published may have changed. Roosevelt's "Books Are Weapons" slogan was in fact part of a campaign supporting the role of education and libraries in the war effort. [67]

The dominance of Roosevelt, both as incumbent and as charismatic personality in difficult times, may also have something to do with the lack of books from his challengers, whose books -- when they appeared -- were more political arguments than self-presentations. Roosevelt himself had begun in his first term with efforts to reach his nation directly through fairly personal books, even if they were presentations of his program; but he did not do so again. Certainly he was busy, and books take time that an incumbent may not have or may not feel he needs to take in a campaign for reelection. But the "bully pulpit" was critical to Roosevelt's presidency, and radio reemerges as significantly his choice of medium, even if he felt the need to archive his broadcast words in the multivolume written collections. Would the advent of television, an even more powerful medium, mean the complete elimination of books from the campaign front?

And what of the style of these books? One detects subtle change, as seen in the less formal approach now referring to "you" and "us," and attested to by the change in titles. From the "Speeches and Addresses" format there was a shift toward the more personal and perhaps even casual, "Looking Forward," "On Our Way," and so on. The inclusive tone in an excerpt from *On Our Way* can be compared with Teddy Roosevelt's words on the "Strenuous Life," quoted above:

> Faith in America, faith in our tradition of personal responsibility, faith in our institutions, faith in ourselves, demands that we recognize the new terms of the old social contract. In this comment I outline my basic conception of these terms, with the confidence that you will follow the action of your new national administration, understanding that its aims and objects are yours and that our responsibility is mutual.[68]

The Television Age

In 1960, incumbent Dwight Eisenhower's vice president, Richard Nixon, met Democratic newcomer Senator John Kennedy. Before 1960 Kennedy had two books to his credit, *Why England Slept* -- an adaptation of his senior thesis at Harvard on pre-war England -- and the Pulitzer-prize-winning *Profiles in Courage,*[69] a collection of portraits of people whose valor and will Kennedy admired. The books were featured in the campaign documentary on Kennedy shown at the convention. *Why England Slept* was intended to demonstrate foreign policy expertise comparable to Nixon's on-the-job training as vice president; and the suggestion that Kennedy himself might be a "profile in courage" underlay accounts of his Navy career and his battles with a back injury.[70] Thus Kennedy was presented to the voters as a man of scholarly attainment, as Wilson had been. Furthermore, his subject matter was turned not only to reflect positively on the man's character but to augment his political credentials as presented to the electorate.

For the 1960 campaign, both Kennedy and Nixon produced books of their collected speeches. Kennedy's *The Strategy of Peace*[71] appeared before the convention. It was edited and introduced by historian Allan Nevins and comprised several of the senator's speeches on foreign policy. One reviewer saw the objective of the book as being "to arouse Americans to 'a more strenuous and idealistic policy'" but identified it as "a campaign piece [whose] historical significance will be tied to the author's future political fortunes."[72] But CBS News correspondent Blair Clark felt there was good reason to be interested in the book: "There is even some urgency about it, for this is the man who, it can be said, may well be on the Democrats' half of the national ballot in November." Intriguingly, Clark was explicitly looking at the book's author from the point of view of "live" (or television) delivery, making the point that, as polished as these speeches may have been in print, Kennedy's personal delivery style was such that one would expect an engaged live audience as well: "whether in the Senate . . . or at a banquet, these speeches have class and style." Clark concludes, "This collection suggests by its responsible tone that the Senate of the United States is a good training ground for the highest office."[73]

Richard Nixon's *The Challenges We Face*[74] appeared in early summer of 1960 and included material (edited by two McGraw-Hill editors) from his speeches and papers as vice president, including an account of his "kitchen debate" with Krushchev. "Of interest to pro, con, and undecided voters," was the dry opinion of one reviewer.[75] But supporter Victor Lasky's review characterized the book as an answer to accusations that Nixon was a fence-straddler who need to tell the people where he stood:

> Assuming he is not caught *flagrante delicto* between now and [the Republican convention], Richard M. Nixon appears destined to be the Grand Old Party's nominee for President this year. . . . He has produced a sharp, timely, and substantial reply [to the accusations]. . . . His book does present clearly and in depth the views of a Presidential aspirant who, in a remarkable political rise, has yet to lose an election.[76]

He concluded saying, "this book is an indication of the high-level approach that Mr. Nixon intends to take during the campaign. If his Democratic opponent . . . follows suit, then the American people will at long last be able to decide on issues, not personalities." [77] Lasky may have overplayed the book's significance, of course, and indeed it was little more than a heavily edited collection of speech excerpts, reorganized thematically by the editor, rather in the old style of the pre-broadcast era.

Following Kennedy's assassination, Lyndon Johnson became president in late 1963, just a year before the next election.[78] Shortly after taking office, Johnson authorized publication of a collection of his speeches and writings since becoming Senate Democratic leader in 1953, apparently to introduce himself and his views to the bereft nation. In the introduction to *A Time for Action*,[79] Adlai Stevenson quoted "our new President" in several passages from the subsequent text to augment them with elaborating insights: "While these speeches reveal something of his views on the great public issues of recent times, they necessarily disclose little of his extraordinary managerial skill and political pragmatism." Stevenson evidently found the book, which appeared in mid-1964, wanting in its presentation of Johnson, limited to the single function of presentation of views; and he sought to present something of Johnson-the-man himself.

Later in 1964, however, Johnson published another book, this time much more personal in style. *My Hope for America*[80] seems quite likely to have been culled from utterances elsewhere, but it was presented as a thematic arrangement of short philosophical and ideologic observations. Here, the traditional combined function of candidate-and-views was better served. Further, its timing and explicit purpose as a campaign document were made obvious by reviewer Henry Brandon, who said, "Although the president was well behind Senator Goldwater in putting his philosophy between book covers, a paste-and-scissor job has now been rushed into print."[81]

Senator Barry Goldwater, Johnson's Republican opponent in 1964, had reached the best-seller lists in 1960 with his book, *The Conscience of a Conservative,* which he had followed up with *Why Not Victory? A Fresh Look at American Foreign Policy*[82] -- both books firmly in the tradition of political manifesto but exceptionally personal in style. The book Goldwater produced for the 1964 election was *Where I Stand*,[83] another paperback collection of speeches. Roscoe Drummond listed four good reasons for reading it:

> If you have already decided to vote for him, his latest book will undoubtedly fortify your convictions. If you have already decided to vote against him, his book will undoubtedly give you additional reasons. If you have not made up your mind, *Where I Stand* will help you do so. If Mr. Goldwater is to be the next President of the United States, we all should have as clear an idea as possible as to where he is headed.[84]

Although succinctly stating the voters' stake in having manifesto-style books as part of the campaign effort, Drummond felt Goldwater's book fell short: "The Republican nominee's book raises as many questions as it answers. . . .What we really need is another book by Mr. Goldwater -- not just *Where I Stand,* but *What I Would Do and How I Would Do It.*"[85]

The extraordinary election year of 1968 brought another refusal of the incumbent to run again and the political resurrection of Richard Nixon. Johnson's decision left the Democrats in something of a free-for-all that saw tragedy with Robert Kennedy's assassination[86] and a fragmented party in the tortured nomination of Johnson's vice president, Hubert Humphrey.

In 1964, Humphrey had written two books that might have been part of the campaign, *The Cause is Mankind* and *War on Poverty,*[87] but Humphrey presented them more as his own personal statement of the liberal tradition begun under Kennedy and continued with Johnson[88] -- perhaps appropriately for a vice presidential candidate. The book *Beyond Civil Rights: A New Day of Equality,*[89] published in 1968, purportedly was of the same genre -- a rather personal manifesto. But a reviewer questioned the disingenuousness: "Mr. Humphrey denies that this is a campaign book, insists that it has been in the works since 1965. Be that as it may, the contents and the timing of this slim volume make it a self-serving political document, and it is likely to endure precisely as long as its author survives politically."[90]

Richard Nixon, following his defeat in the presidential election of 1960 and the California gubernatorial election of 1962, had written the autobiographical *Six Crises.*[91] The book was reissued in October of 1968 with a new introduction citing the failures and problems of the Johnson-Humphrey administration and sporting a formal reproduction of Nixon's acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention two months earlier. In that form, the book represents a hybrid of type and purpose. Originally the book had not been written as either political tract or presentation of the self but rather as an historical memoir. In its reissued form, it combined polemic, self-revelation, and somewhat unprecedented self-adulation in the inclusion of the acceptance speech -- implying phoenix-like survival of the "six crises" of Nixon's political life.

Moreover, the speed with which that book appeared marked a new era of rapid publication. Even faster was Nixon's publication of two "instant books," two paperback collections of addresses and comment, published privately by the Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee within six days of accepting the nomination.[92] In the front matter to the second book, the committee said: "Together, these two volumes represent a publishing event unique in political history -- a fuller compilation of a candidate's current views than ever before presented to the public during a campaign"[93] -- something of an overstatement in light of what has already been seen in this study.

When incumbent Nixon ran again in 1972, he apparently chose other means of promoting his candidacy than publishing books. No industry record can be found of more "instant books" like the two for the 1968 election.[94] Only another collection of his addresses, *New Road for America*, appeared as a semi-archival volume of his presidential "major policy statements" through the auspices of the *Reader's Digest*.[95]

Before 1972 George McGovern, Nixon's Democratic opponent, had published three books, dealing respectively with the Food for Peace program, agricultural policy, and war and foreign policy.[96] Typically they offered an amalgam of McGovern's thoughts with excerpts from speeches while holding political office. The sole publication appearing in the 1972 campaign year was a most unlikely offering from a candidate. *The Great Coalfield War*[97] was a collaborative adaptation of McGovern's 1963 doctoral dissertation on the bloody 1914 Colorado battles over union recognition, and it provided insight into

McGovern's political orientation as well as his scholarly ability. One reviewer took the customary tack that a book by a candidate should be read to give the voter insight into the man: "One of the authors may someday be President of the United States, and the book reveals, to some considerable degree, the careful, orderly, incisive, and sympathetic way in which he thinks and so the kind of President he might be."[98] Another referred to it as "the rarest sort of campaign document" in being the product of "the only Ph.D. in the Senate, not to mention the Presidential race." Placing it in the established tradition, he call it "as valuable and revealing a book as Presidential candidates have offered us recently -- more scholarly and more original that Kennedy's 'Profiles in Courage' and less narcissistic than Nixon's 'Six Crises,' even if it is less readable than either of those others." [99] Neither reviewer speculated about the audience for this book, however, which was probably much narrower than that for the books with which it was compared.

In this era, we have looked at the election-year publications of six candidates and found them, again, serving both to communicate thought and to illustrate character, at the same time wherever possible. The scholarly nature of Theodore Roosevelt's and Wilson's works is echoed in Kennedy's and McGovern's works, but with less significance placed on the intrinsic value of the scholarship and what it says about the candidate's character, and more on its interaction with the man's political outlook. Goldwater's works are classic examples of the direct political manifesto, but again, they are more personal in tone than their pre-broadcast era forebears. Similarly, the collected speeches of Johnson and Nixon follow in the path of Franklin Roosevelt, in being mounted as direct appeals for political -- and social -- mobilization behind their respective programs, as well as in being personal in tone.

The trend is clearly toward the casual and personal, even more so than in the radio era -- from first-person titles like *My Hope for America* or *Where I Stand*, to the direct address of Humphrey's liberal musings, to the intimate self-portrait of Nixon's *Six Crises*. By way of final comparison with the excerpts from Teddy Roosevelt on the "Strenuous

Life" and from his cousin in *On Our Way*, a passage from *Six Crises* suggests how much change in style has occurred, even taking into consideration differences in personality among the three presidents:

> What I have tried to do is describe my personal reactions to each [crisis] and then to distill out of my experience a few general principles on the "crisis syndrome." . . .We tend to think of some men as "born leaders." But I have found that leaders are subject to all the human frailties. They lose their tempers, become depressed, experience the other symptoms of stress. Sometimes even strong men will cry. [100]

At least as significant as the change in style -- which reflects cultural change as much as change in political strategy -- is the fact that books have scarcely disappeared in the television era. It may be significant that Nixon -- a man not thought of as a great scholar but to whom television never seemed kind -- went on to author a continuing supply of books of views and analyses. In addition, Nixon's, Goldwater's, McGovern's and to a lesser extent, Humphrey's books also might have been seen as offering an outlet for their views where national coverage was felt to be abbreviated, otherwise inaccessible, or perhaps adversarial.

No one approached the post-convention campaign trail without at least one book in print, even though the book might not always have appeared at the behest of the candidate himself. At the very least, television appears not to have dimmed interest in using books for campaign communication, though one might question whether two different audiences -- book-readers and television-watchers -- might be involved. But this era is the first in which some of the books involved had been best-sellers, albeit not in the immediately pre-election period. And increasingly the books were appearing in paperback form, notably Goldwater's and Nixon's -- particularly Nixon's "instant books." These points argue for an expectation of a larger audience than merely the well-read.

Conclusion and Looking to the Future

Thus, what has happened to the use of books in presidential elections since the pre-broadcast era? Books as a campaign phenomenon did not disappear, although they seemed to wane a bit in the early broadcast era (undoubtedly for a number of reasons). Rather, they seemed to gain new significance in the television era. Throughout the periods covered, however, they served remarkably consistent purposes, in rather similar forms, even as the context in which they appeared and their style changed. Indeed, the keys to an explanation may lie in the concurrent changes in technology and style.

With the advent of the paperback, the technology of book publishing enabled quicker access in an even more "portable and convenient form" (to recall the wording of the campaign books), at more affordable prices, than ever before. The development of "instant books" offered even greater possibilities for reaching a national audience in less time than some magazine articles may take. Some of their advantage over newspapers -- affording an alternative to journalistic inaccuracies -- was noted by one pre-broadcast era reviewer, although acknowledgment of the fact that they can and do provide national "reach" could not be found in the literature. Their relationship to radio is suggested by the choice to reproduce not only the text but the style in Roosevelt's collections, and their relationship to television may also have something to do both with style and the possibility of offering an augmenting, if not alternative, medium through which to present the candidate to the people. For both Kennedy and Nixon, their books seem designed to present traits inadequately illuminated by the mercurial light of television.

As noted, the style of these books became more informal and personal, even as they performed similar, and similarly combined, functions over the three periods studied -- as indeed our society became more casual and personal in style. Something about the potential intimacy of a book, its direct contact with an (ostensibly) undistracted reader, combined with the extended space available to develop concepts, impressions, or even self-revelations, may lend itself to a particular kind of political communication. The direct contact, moreover, allowed the campaigner to circumvent controls and limitations in the print, and later the broadcast, press.

Further study of the relationship between books and other media in political communication is suggested, particularly in the tradition of the journalistic book. A consideration of the intended as well as actual audiences for these campaign-related books would add considerably to this admittedly limited study. Above all, continuation of the study into the most recent era would be intriguing, especially as instant publishing has become widely possible and the number of television channels and formats has multiplied. Over the course of his several campaigns, Ronald Reagan was the listed author of over twenty paperback compilations of quotations,[101] some of which were reported to have appeared with lightning speed.

And what of the future -- what will happen as the electorate becomes less literary in how it receives information, particularly as electronic media promise to change our information systems forever? The tendency has been to discount books in the era of the photo-op and the sound bite. As Hamilton observed, "Nowadays, writing is the least effective tool of campaigning or governing. A book takes a long time to write and is read by relatively few people; a 10-second television sound bite can be arranged in an afternoon and is seen by millions."[102] Thus, one might conclude that the "lesson for a presidential contender is to forget about producing even a mediocre ghosted campaign volume."[103]

But Esther B. Fein of the *New York Times* recently reported a surge of voter interest in books: "Behold the pre-election book buyers of 1992: Americans who are watching Presidential and Vice Presidential debates and registering to vote in record numbers are also buying masses of books about the programs of Presidential candidates, about the deficit and environmental problems, and about the way Government doesn't always work."[104] As she wrote, books by Bill Clinton and Ross Perot topped the paperback book lists, and Al Gore's book on the environment held a position on the trade hardback list.[105]

However, she wrote, "not everyone agrees that this is a healthy trend. 'The good news is that people are buying political books,' said David Rosenthal, executive editor of the Random House adult trade division. 'The bad news is that these are the printed equivalent of sound bites. The information is written, packaged and printed in a way that is disturbingly similar to TV.'" [106] Though debatable in both instances, a similar comment might have been made about publication of Roosevelt's "Fireside Chats." But the point is worth making that there appears to be a felt use -- and an audience -- for these books, whatever their format. It remains to be seen whether they will continue to have a place in future presidential campaign arsenals.

Notes

[1] Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "'Books Are Weapons', Says President Roosevelt," Poster: Three messages from President Roosevelt about books, printed for distribution by the Library Binding Institute, 1942.

[2] William Clinton, *Putting People First* (NY: Times Books, 1992).

[3] Francis Brown, "Mr. Landon States His Principles," review of Alfred M. Landon, *America at the Crossroads*, *New York Times* (27 Sept. 1936), Book Review section, 5.

[4] John Maxwell Hamilton, "Why Can't Mr. President Write?" *Media Studies Journal* 6, no. 2 (summer 1992), 140. His comments were the stimulus for this study.

[5] "Major" is defined as those commanding more than 20 percent of the final vote, in almost all cases being the two candidates of the major parties.

[6] The simple issue of publication date is not, first of all, simple, since copyright dates, publication, and release dates are not always the same. Books in existence *before* the election year may or may not still have been in print during the election year; prior to a tax decision in the early 1970s ("Thor Power Tool"), books could be kept in print and republished on a continuous on-demand basis almost indefinitely. Unless a publisher specified the publication of a new edition, determining whether a book published earlier might have seen a spurt in sales during an election year would depend -- short of its appearance on a best-seller list -- on serendipitous mention in trade publications. In general, however, the year of copyright and/or the year in which a review appears were taken as the year a book appeared in the mass market.

[7] See the "Selected Bibliography of Candidates' Books" following the text; books written between two elections are included in the list for the later election.

[8] Use of book review lists had the methodological advantage of locating books taken "seriously" enough to be reviewed by at least three reviewers. However, the implicit bias of these sources is that they may concentrate on materials of interest to the more educated segments of the population, thus introducing an element of redundancy -- i.e., writing for those who already are book-readers. Moreover, books are usually reviewed only in the year they are published, even if they became of more popular interest later on.

Finally, not all books written are reviewed. Thus it was advisable to supplement the book review lists to reach the final selection with additional materials, e.g. books mentioned in reviews of other books, books listed as being by the same author of a book, etc.

[9] These books should not be confused with "campaign biographies," written by boosters or critics of a given candidate explicitly as puffery, or debunking, for the purposes of the campaign. William Miles compiled a bibliography of this genre (*The Image Makers: A Bibliography of American Presidential Campaign Biographies* [Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow, 1979]), which cites a useful, though odd and occasionally spotty, selection. Books like Theodore White's series on the "Making of the President" or McGinniss's *Selling of the President 1968* (NY: Trident, 1969) are strange bedfellows of the other sort of "campaign books" and, as noted in the literature review, make scarce reference to candidates' books in campaigns.

[10] Republican National Committee, *Republican Campaign Text-Books 1900 - 1912* (Phila.: Dunlap, 1900 - 1912), available on microfiche from the National Micropublishing Corp.; Democratic National Committee, *Campaign Books of the Democratic Party Candidates and Issues 1896-1936*, (NY: Democratic National Committee, 1896 -- 1936), available on microfiche from the National Micropublishing Corp. (Later publications out of party conventions took the form of publication of the platform agreed upon early in the convention, rather than a record of the event itself.)

[11] Unfortunately, there are no women represented in this group, hence the word "man" can be used in this study to refer to the persona of a candidate.

[12] Works by vice presidential candidates are included in this study when they became president following the death of a president and went on to run for reelection in a subsequent, included election: i.e., Theodore Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson.

[13] William J. Bryan, The First Battle (Chicago: Conkey, 1896).

[14] *Speeches and Addresses of William McKinley* (Appleton, 1893), noted in review, *Nation* 58 (8 Feb. 1894), 104. The reviewer wrote, "we may not unjustly regard this compilation as in its principal intent a Presidential candidate's propitiation of his fellow-citizens."

[15] "McKinley's Masterpieces," listed without bibliographic information in a 1896 *Nation* review, which described an unnamed book as "a little volume of 'McKinley's Masterpieces'" in which McKinley's oratorical talents shone. *Nation* 62 (18 June 1896), 466.

[16] William McKinley, *Speeches and Addresses of William McKinley from March 1, 1887 to May 30, 1900* (NY: Doubleday & McClure, 1900).

[17] "The New President as a Literary Man," *Outlook* 69 (21 Sept. 1901), 165. It is to be remembered that *Outlook*'s board included many members of the Republican establishment, eventually including Roosevelt himself.

[18] *Outlook* listed nineteen (*Outlook* 69 [21 Sept. 1901] 165), while *Bookman* listed twenty titles as of 1901 (*Bookman* 2 [Dec. 1904], 292). There are differences between these lists, accountable in part to differences as to which pamphlets and monographs were considered books.

[19] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812* (NY: Putnam's, 1882), which saw several re-issues.

[20] Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West* (Putnam's, 1889)

[21] According to *Bookman*'s list, he wrote on Oliver Cromwell and The Philippines, as well as miscellaneous collections of observations and maxims (*Bookman*, 292)

[22] *Republican Campaign Text-Book 1904*, 250.

[23] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life* (NY: Century, 1900).

[24] Ibid., 1.

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[25] Theodore Roosevelt, *Addresses and Presidential Messages of Theodore Roosevelt* (NY: Putnam's, 1904).

[26] Roosevelt's Democratic opponent in 1904 was Alton B. Parker. Parker was a judge with ties to Wall Street but no discernible record as a writer. Profiles of Parker at the time list no books attributed to him, nor are any reviews of books by him found.

[27] Roosevelt, *Addresses and Presidential Messages* (1904), vi.

[28] See note 9 above, regarding campaign biographies.

[29] "Despite, therefore, the great extension of the interview and of the habit of 'writing people up' in the newspapers, . . . the formal political or campaign biography . . . has of late largely disappeared. . . . It used to be the inevitable as well as the conventional practice to write and publish the lives of Presidential candidates in more or less serious and elaborate books when the time for their election approached." Henry Cabot Lodge, introduction to Roosevelt, *Addresses and Messages*, v.

[30] William Jennings Bryan, *The Real Bryan*, comp. Richard A. Metcalfe (Des Moines, IA: Personal Help, 1908), 7.

[31] "[Bryan] has the mental alertness of the Western journalist, eager to exploit each new idea, without stopping to go to the bottom of it, and as ready to drop it and turn to something else. He has shown no power of analysis, no grasp of fundamental principles, no capacity for serious study, no sense of logical proportion. In all his treatment of large public questions he is superficial, rhetorical, uncertain and untrustworthy." *Republican Campaign Text-Book 1908*, 270.

[32] "Comment on Current Books," review of Taft, *Present Day Problems*, *Outlook* 89 (1 Aug. 1908), 766.

[33] William Howard Taft, *Present Day Problems* (NY: Dodd, Mead, 1908).

[34] "Mr. Taft as His Own Interpreter," review of Taft, *Present Day Problems*, *New York Times* 12 (15 August 1908), 448.

[35] William Howard Taft, *Four Aspects of Civic Duty* (NY: Scribner's, 1907).

[36] Theodore Roosevelt, *Applied Ethics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ., 1911) *AND HUNTING*

[37] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Real Roosevelt* (NY: Putnam's, 1910); *African and European Addresses* (NY: Putnam's, 1910); *New Nationalism* (NY: Outlook, 1911).

[38] William Howard Taft, *Presidential Addresses and State Papers from March 4, 1909 to March 4, 1910* (NY: Doubleday, 1910).

[39] "Mr. Taft's Speeches," review of Taft, *Presidential Addresses*, *New York Times* 15 (15 Nov. 1910), 620.

[40] E.g., *The State* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1889); *Mere Literature* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1896 and reissued in 1913); *George Washington* (NY: Harper & Bros., 1896).

[41] Woodrow Wilson, *A History of the American People* (NY: Harper & Bros., 1902).

[42] Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1885).

[43] Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (NY: Columbia Univ., 1908).

[44] Review of Wilson, *Congressional Government*, *Nation* 91 (22 Sept. 1910), 256.

[45] *Democratic Campaign Book 1912*, 49-62.

[46] *Republican Campaign Text-Book 1912*, 256 .

[47] The campaign book asserts it to be true of the history, even if written ten years earlier, before "the shadow of the White House had not fallen athwart his peaceful path. The presidential bee had not yet begun to buzz." Conceding Wilson a brilliant reputation as author, the speaker said: "He has been a most

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prolific writer, exploring every corner and nook of the field of history, sociology and political economy. In his voluminous writings and public addresses every subject in which the American people have ever shown the slightest interest, with the possible exception of the question of race suicide, has been treated by him in a manner which reflects great credit on his intellectual courage and independence, if not upon his political foresight and acumen." Ibid.

[48] *Republican Campaign Text-Books 1900-1912.* Further, the purpose is explicitly to present the material "in concise and portable form . . . for ready reference in the field, on the stump, upon the train, or wherever they may be desired."

[49] *Democratic Campaign Book 1908*, inside cover.

[50] T. Roosevelt, *Strenuous Life*, 1.

[51] *Democratic Campaign Book 1932, 5-12.*

[52] Franklin D. Roosevelt, *Government Not Politics* (NY: Covici, 1932).

[53] "Franklin D. Roosevelt Speaks," review of Roosevelt, *Government Not Politics*, *New York Times* (7 Aug. 1932), Book Review section, 1.

[54] Review of Roosevelt, *Government Not Politics*, *Boston Transcript* (3 Aug, 1932), 3.

[55] Franklin D. Roosevelt, *Looking Forward* (NY: John Day, 1933).

[56] Walter Lippmann, "'On Our Way'--A Book Review," review of Roosevelt, *On Our Way*, *New York Herald Tribune* (20 Apr. 1934), 21.

[57] Ibid., 14.

[58] Franklin D. Roosevelt, *On Our Way* (NY: John Day, 1934).

[59] *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* is a multivolume work featuring a special introduction and explanatory note by Roosevelt and was first published by Random House (NY) in 1940. Later other collections were produced by Macmillan and Funk.

[60] Alfred M. Landon, *America at the Crossroads* (NY: Dodge, 1936), with intro. by Senator Arthur Capper.

[61] Brown, review of Landon, *Crossroads*, 1936, 5.

[62] Arthur Capper, in introduction to Landon, *American at the Crossroads*, vii.

[63] Intriguingly, Eleanor Roosevelt had begun to produce her own publications of personal experiences, impressions, and even collections of photographs; and her name now appeared more frequently on book review lists than did her husband's.

[64] Franklin D. Roosevelt, ed. J. B. S. Hardman, *Rendezvous with Destiny* (NY: Dryden, 1944).

[65] J.B.S. Hardman, in introduction to Roosevelt, *Rendezvous*, vii-viii.

[66] Thomas E. Dewey, *The Case Against the New Deal* (NY: Harper & Bros., 1940). "In the national election of 1940 the American people will be called upon to make the most critical decision they have faced in eighty years," vii.

[67] "People die, but books never die . . . No man and no force can take from the world the books that embody man's eternal fight against tyranny of every kind. In this war, we know, books are weapons. And it is a part of your dedication always to make them weapons for man's freedom. . . . In your charge is the living record of all that man has accomplished in the long labor of liberty, all he aspires to make of it in the future we of the United Nations fight to secure. By keeping that record always before the eyes of the American people you give them renewed strength in their struggle against the dark backwash of tyranny,

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renewed faith in their unconquerable determination to take their full part in establishing on this earth a new free age of man." Roosevelt, "Books Are Weapons."

[68] F. Roosevelt, *On Our Way*, 14.

[69] John F. Kennedy, *Why England Slept* (NY: Funk, 1940), a revised version of his senior thesis at Harvard, on best-seller lists briefly in 1940; *Profiles in Courage* (NY: Harper & Bros., 1956), also reached best-seller lists.

[70] Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency: A History and Criticism of Presidential Campaign Advertising* (New York: Oxford, 1992), 162. She suggested why the books were included in the film: "While Nixon could and did recite the number of countries he had visited, the number of leaders he had met, the number of conferences he had attended, none of these statistics demonstrated that he had learned history's lessons. What Kennedy's books provided was the evidence that he had." Ibid.

[71] John F. Kennedy, *The Strategy of Peace* (NY: Harper & Bros., 1960).

[72] Review of Kennedy, *Strategy*, *Library Journal 85* (15 Mar. 1960), 1129.

[73] Blair Clark, "The Strategy of Peace," review of Kennedy, *Strategy*, *Saturday Review* 43 (28 May 1960), 19.

[74] Richard Nixon, *The Challenges We Face* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1960).

[75] Review of Nixon, *Challenges*, in *Booklist* 56 (15 July 1960), 679.

[76] Victor Lasky, in review of Nixon, *Challenges*, *Saturday Review* 43 (2 July 1960), 15.

[77] Ibid. Lasky also said: "These, therefore, are the views of the man to whom the American people may well entrust the leadership of the free world for years to come. They should be of particular interest to American liberals, many of whom--for reasons this reviewer finds difficult to comprehend--view with dread the possibility of Mr. Nixon's occupying the White House."

[78] In 1962 Kennedy had published a selection of his public statements in his first year as president, including an eloquent introduction in the FDR tradition: "We have begun. Neither wind nor tide is always with us. Our course on a dark and stormy sea cannot always be clear. But we have set sail--and the horizon, however cloudy, is also full of hope." *To Turn the Tide* (Harper & Bros., 1962), vii..

[79] Lyndon B. Johnson, *A Time for Action* (NY: Atheneum, 1964).

[80] Lyndon B. Johnson, *My Hope for America* (NY: Random House, 1964).

[81] Henry Brandon, "Candidate's Dilemma," review of Johnson, *My Hope*, *Saturday Review* 47 (17 October 1964), 16.

[82] Barry Goldwater, *The Conscience of a Conservative* (NY: Hillman, 1960); *Why Not Victory? A Fresh Look at American Foreign Policy* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1962).

[83] Barry Goldwater, *Where I Stand* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

[84] Roscoe Drummond, "GOP Candidate's Position Papers," review of Goldwater, *Conscience*, in *Saturday Review* 47 (19 Sept. 1964), 41.

[85] Ibid., 42.

[86] By the methodological guidelines established for this study, books by Robert Kennedy fall outside its scope. However, at the time of his assassination, he was arguably the front-runner; and he had published several books in the Kennedy tradition but with his own, populist orientation, including *Just Friends and Brave Enemies* (NY: Popular Library, 1962); *Pursuit of Justice* (NY: Harper & Bros., 1964); and *To Seek a Newer World* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967), an obviously election-oriented statement of his beliefs, hopes, and plans.

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[87] Hubert H. Humphrey, *The Cause is Mankind* (NY: Praeger, 1964); *War on Poverty* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

[88] "[This book] is not meant to be a statement of warlike defiance or a call to arms. It does not call for the conquest of one group or one world by another. Instead, it focuses on the struggle President Kennedy talked about and President Johnson continues. . . . I believe that with an informed, common-sense, and compassionate approach -- the liberal approach, if you will -- the American future will be wonderful to behold." Humphrey, *Cause*, vii.

[89] Hubert H. Humphrey, *Beyond Civil Rights: A New Day of Equality* (NY: Random House, 1968).

[90] Albert Vorspan, "New Frontiers or Dark Old Days?" in review of Humphrey, *Civil Rights, Saturday Review* 51 (9 Nov. 1968), 34.

[91] Richard M. Nixon, *Six Crises* (NY: Doubleday, 1962); reissued in 1968 by Pyramid (NY).

[92] Richard Nixon, *Nixon on the Issues* (NY: Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee, 1968) and *Nixon Speaks Out: Major Speeches and Statements* by Richard Nixon (NY: Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee, 1969). The six-day production of the books is reported in Theodore White's *The Making of the President--1968* (NY: Atheneum, 1969), 370.

[93] *Nixon Speaks Out*, frontispiece.

[94] However, except for Theodore White's reference to them no industry notice had been taken of the 1968 books, either; thus, it would not be surprising to find more such books had been published in 1972. See note 92 above.

[95] Richard M. Nixon, *New Road for America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972).

[96] George S. McGovern, *War Against Want* (NY: Walker, 1964), *Agricultural Thought in the Twentieth Century* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967); and *A Time of War, a Time of Peace* (NY:Vintage, 1968).

[97] George S. McGovern, *The Great Coalfield War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968).

[98] Harry M. Caudill, "A Maddening Story," review of McGovern, *Coalfield War, New York Review of Books* 19 (21 Sept. 1972), 38.

[99] Christopher Lydon, "The Great Coalfield War," review of McGovern, *Coalfield War, New York Times* (9 July 1972), Book Review, 4.

[100] Nixon, *Six Crises*, xxiv, xxvii.

[101] Examples of Reagan's books are *The Official Ronald Wilson Reagan Quote Book* (St. Louis Park, MN: Chain-Pinkham, 1980); *Ronald Reagan: In God I Trust* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 1983); *Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation* (Nashville, TN: T. Nelson, 1984); *Along Wit's Trail: The Humor and Wisdom of Ronald Reagan* (NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1984).

[102] Hamilton, "Why Can't Mr. President Write?" 146.

[103] Ibid., 147.

[104] Esther B. Fein, "The Voters Choose to Read, and Political Books Flourish," *New York Times*, 26 Oct., 1992, Financial section, 8.

[105] *New York Times*, 25 October 1992, Book Review section, 4.

[106] Fein, "The Voters Choose," 8.

Appendix
BOOKS ARE WEAPONS
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CANDIDATES' BOOKS

Note: Books issued during the election year are listed immediately after the candidate's name. Those published prior to that year and, in the case of those running more than once, since the previous election year are listed below the indicator line.

PRE-BROADCAST ERA

1900 Election

William McKinley (R - Incumbent)
Speeches and Addresses of William McKinley from March 1, 1887 to May 30, 1900. New York: Doubleday & McClure, 1900.
"McKinley's Masterpieces." [listed in 1896 *Nation* review] 1896.
Speeches and Addresses of William McKinley. New York: Appleton, 1893.

Theodore Roosevelt (R - Vice President, became president in 1901)
The Strenuous Life. New York: Century, 1900.
The Naval War of 1812. New York: Putnam's, 1882.
The Life of Thomas Hart Benton. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1886.
The Life of Gouverneur Morris. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 188.
The Winning of the West. New York: Putnam's, 1889.
American Ideals, and Other Essays, Social and Political. [NY]: Putnam's, 1898.
The Rough Riders. New York: Scribner's, 1899.

William J. Bryan (D) ---
The First Battle. Chicago: Conkey, 1896.

1904 Election

Theodore Roosevelt (R)
Addresses and Presidential Messages of Theodore Roosevelt. New York: Putnam's, 1904.
Oliver Cromwell. New York: Scribner's, 1901.
The Deer Family. New York, Macmillan, 1902.

Alton B. Parker (D) ---

1908 Election

William H. Taft (R)
Present Day Problems: A Collection of Addresses Delivered on Various Occasions. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1908.
Four Aspects of Civic Duty. New York: Scribners, 1907.

William J. Bryan
(D) *The Real Bryan: Being Extracts from the Speeches and Writings of "A Well-Rounded Man"* Des Moines, IA: Personal Help Publishing, 1908.

Prebroadcast era, continued

1912

Woodrow Wilson (D)

Congressional Government in the United States. Boston: Houghton Mifflin 1885.
George Washington. New York: Harper & Bros., 1886.
Mere Literature. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1886.
The State. Boston: D. C. Heath, 1889.
A History of the American People. New York: Harper & Bros., 1902.
Constitutional Government in the United States. New York: Columbia Univ., 1908.

Theodore Roosevelt (I)

Realizable Ideals. [New York]: Whitaker, 1912.
The Real Roosevelt. New York: Putnam's, 1912.
Presidential Addresses and State Papers. New York: Review of Reviews, 1910.
Applied Ethics. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ., 1911.
New Nationalism. New York: Outlook, 1911. 1

William H. Taft (R) ---

Presidential Addresses and State Papers from March 4, 1909 to March 4, 1910. New York: Doubleday, 1910.

RADIO ERA

1932 Election

Franklin D. Roosevelt (D)

Government Not Politics. New York: Covici, 1932.

Herbert C. Hoover (R - Incumbant.) ---

American Individualism. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Comapny, 1922]

1936 Election

Franklin D. Roosevelt (D) ---

Looking Forward. New York: John Day, 1933.
On Our Way. New York: John Day, 1934.

Alfred M. Landon (R)

America at the Crossroads. New York: Dodge Publishing, 1936.

Radio Era, continued

1940 Election

Franklin D. Roosevelt (D)

The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt. New York: Random House, 1938.

Wendell L. Wilkie (R) ---

1944 Election

Franklin D. Roosevelt (D)

Rendezvous with Destiny. New York: Dryden, 1944.
The Battle of 1776. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1941.

Thomas E. Dewey (R)

The Case Against the New Deal. New York: Harper & Bros., 1940.

TELEVISION ERA

1960 Election

John F. Kennedy (D)

The Strategy of Peace. New York: Harper & Bros., 1960.
Why England Slept. New York: Funk, 1940.
[*To Turn the Tide.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1962]
Profiles in Courage. New York: Harper & Bros., 1956.

Lyndon B. Johnson (D - Vice President, became president in1963) ---

Richard M. Nixon (R)

The Challenges We Face. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960.

1964 Election

Lyndon B. Johnson (D)

A Time for Action. New York: Atheneum, 1964.
My Hope for America. New York: Random House, 1964.

Barry M. Goldwater (R)

Where I Stand. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.
The Conscience of a Conservative. New York: Hillman, 1960.
Why Not Victory? A Fresh Look at American Foreign Policy. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Television Era, continued

1968 Election

Richard M. Nixon (R)

Six Crises. New York: Pyramid, 1968. (Reissue of 1962 Doubleday edition.)
Nixon on the Issues. New York: Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committe, 1968
Nixon Speaks Out. New York: Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committe, 1968

Hubert H. Humphrey (D)

Beyond Civil Rights: A New Day of Equality. New York: Random House, 1968.
The Cause is Mankind. New York: Praeger, 1964
War on Poverty. New York: McGraw Hill, 1964

1972 Election

Richard M. Nixon (R.)

A New Road for America. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1972.

George S. McGovern (D)

The Great Coalfield War. With Leonard Guttridge. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972.
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THE READER AS CONSUMER:
CURTIS PUBLISHING COMPANY
AND THE DEFINITION OF AUDIENCE, 1910-1930

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Abstract

This study looks at how Curtis Publishing Company, the dominant American publisher of the early twentieth century, defined and studied readers, and then used that information to shape its image to appeal to advertisers. The study attempts to show how the consumer culture that emerged at the turn of the century shaped American magazines' perceptions and portrayals of readers. As readers increasingly became consumers, a publication's readership became a commodity -- a product that could be defined, studied and sold.

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THE READER AS CONSUMER:
CURTIS PUBLISHING COMPANY
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Edward Bok used to say that he edited the Ladies' Home Journal with an ideal woman in mind. He first saw her not long after he became the Journal's editor in 1889, when he and Cyrus Curtis took a trip to several small cities to "study the needs of the American people." He saw the woman at church and later at a concert with her husband and children. He passed by her house, which had an air of "homeness" and refinement, and he concluded that the woman herself seemed, "by her dress, manner, and in every way, to be typical of the best in American womanhood."[1]

The key word in Bok's assessment was "best." From about 1890, he and other members of the staff of Curtis Publishing Company continually tried to make the case that Curtis publications reached the elite of American society -- people with culture and, most important, people with money.[2] The company told advertisers that Curtis publications, with their "high grade" artwork and printing, appealed only to "the intelligent, the earnest and the progressive." The Ladies' Home Journal was "designed for the home loving," while the Saturday Evening Post was "designed for the men and women who desire a wholesome, sane and entertaining treatment of modern life in fiction and in fact."[3] The Post's editor, George Horace Lorimer, said that the

Post appealed "to two classes of men: Men with income, and men who are going to have incomes, and the second is quite as important as the first to the advertiser."[4] With its farm magazine Country Gentleman, Curtis assured advertisers "an intelligent audience, an interested hearing and a well-grounded confidence,"[5] and insisted that "the exceptional and constant increase in the wealth of these particular readers means that from season to season they will be more and more desirable customers for high-grade merchandise of many sorts."[6] Similarly, Curtis proclaimed its Public Ledger newspaper the publication of the "intelligent masses," asking advertisers: "What kind of people do you wish to reach in Philadelphia?"[7]

Even as the publisher of the two widest-circulating magazines of the 1910s and 1920s, though, Curtis Publishing couldn't escape the scrutiny of advertisers who wanted proof of its readership claims. Bok noted in 1913 that the Journal had been criticized for being taken by too many girls and not enough serious-minded women, although he discounted any such criticism as speculation.[8] Companies such as Peerless, Packard and Pierce-Arrow automobiles were skeptical that buyers of their products actually read Curtis publications, and they were, therefore, reluctant to buy Curtis advertising.[9] The advertising manager of the Thomas B. Jeffery Company, maker of Rambler Motor Cars, criticized magazines in general for crowing about their widespread circulations but failing to provide accurate information to back up their claims that their readers were really buyers.[10] More widespread were concerns that magazines, including those published by Curtis, failed to reach a unique audience. That is, readers tended to subscribe to more than one periodical. To advertisers who sought the widest possible audience at the lowest possible cost, such "duplication" was often seen as wasteful and inefficient. Why, advertisers asked, should they buy space in both the Post and the Journal if the same families subscribed to both magazines?[11]

To blunt such criticism and to provide proof that it reached both a mass and a class audience, Curtis began using its nascent Division of Commercial Research, which was formed in 1911, to compile information about readers. Its early readership reports appear to be among the first ever conducted by an American publisher. This paper uses those studies, along with speeches, advertisements, articles and other sources from Curtis Publishing Company, to look at how Curtis used those early readership reports. By focusing on a single company, Curtis Publishing Company,[12] I attempt to show how the consumer culture that emerged at the turn of the century shaped the way magazines perceived and portrayed readers during the early twentieth century. I explore some of the origins of readership research and show that even before readership research began, publications defined readers to appeal to advertisers.

Over the past ten or so years, researchers have begun to ask historical questions about readers of newspapers and magazines, although less so than about the readers of books. Much of the research in this area has focused on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and has provided important insights into readers and readership.[13] This study does not provide a social history of readers, but rather looks at the way in which the dominant American publishing company of the early twentieth century defined and studied its readers, and then used information about them to shape its image to appeal to advertisers. As such, it is closely tied to the emergence of a consumer culture, a business-based, market-oriented culture that put, as William Leach has written, the accumulation of wealth and goods at the center of American life.[14] Baldasty has shown how the focus of newspaper journalism changed during the nineteenth century as a consumer culture emerged,[15] and Susman[16] and Taylor[17] have looked at the interaction of media and culture in the early twentieth century. Fox and Lears,[18] Cohn,[19] Mott,[20] Pollay,[21], Wilson,[22] and Tebbel and Zuckerman[23] have looked at the way magazines, especially Curtis magazines, worked to earn readers' trust in advertising. Kreshel has explored the early culture of market research and has shown how it was used to try to reduce the uncertainty of advertising and to legitimize advertising as a profession.[24]

Publishers began using market research regularly in the first two decades of the twentieth century when advertisers began demanding proof about advertising and readership claims. The identification of readers in mere circulation numbers no longer seemed enough, especially for publishers and advertising agents seeking to prove the "efficiency" and effectiveness of advertising. Advertisers wanted to know who those readers were and what other publications they read. They wanted to know where the readers lived and the types of products they bought. Just as businesses increasingly sought information about markets and products, they likewise sought information about audiences and consumers. Curtis conducted its first readership survey in 1916, and through the 1920s expanded its use of audience studies. That research involved a process of definition that required both inclusion and exclusion, and helped publishers like Curtis carve a niche in the mass market. It also reinforced stereotypes of blacks and immigrants, labeling them as outcasts in a culture built on the ability to buy. To Cyrus Curtis and his staff, readers were more than just an audience; they were a product in themselves, something that could be defined, packaged and sold to advertisers. As in the commercial publishing world today, readers were a commodity.

* * * * *

In the early twentieth century, Curtis Publishing often blurred the distinction between "class" and "mass" circulation as its subscription lists soared into the hundreds of thousands, and then into the millions. Its definition of "class," though, was often middle class -- or, perhaps more appropriately, buying class. The target readership was often defined by the ownership of such things as homes, automobiles, typewriters and telephones, or the availability of electricity or department-store charge accounts.[25] It sought to portray its publications as the choice of the well-to-do, but then broadened its definition of well-to-do to include everyone from "millionaire to mill worker" -- essentially anyone who could be considered "a substantial citizen and a good customer for a worthy product."[26] By 1915, Bok had begun defining the readers of the Ladies' Home Journal by income. He told the advertising staff that the magazine was directed primarily toward families with incomes of $1,200 to $2,500, and to a lesser extent toward those with $3,000 to $5,000 income -- what at the time would have been middle class or upper middle class. Some people who made more money also read the magazine, he acknowledged. "We direct our attention, however, to the class from $1,200 to $3,000, because they are the families having the greatest need of help, and to whom we can be of greatest assistance."[27] That "assistance," as several scholars have shown, often involved instructing people what to buy and how to buy. In the 1910s and 1920s, for instance, Curtis sold patterns of fashions featured in the Journal, offered blueprints for houses featured in the Journal, and worked with department stores to display and make available the ready-to-wear fashions the magazine showcased.[28]

Lorimer didn't have nearly as precise a definition of readers of the Post, but he nonetheless had an idea of who his readers were. He used to lurk near the newsstand at the Reading Railroad terminal in Philadelphia and see who bought the Post. He described those people as "the class of people you like to see

-- the prosperous business men and the young women who have positions with good firms."[29] Cyrus Curtis had made similar generalizations in the late nineteenth century. From the early 1880s, when he established the Tribune and Farmer, a weekly paper whose women's department, edited by his wife, Louisa Knapp, eventually became the Ladies' Home Journal, Curtis told advertisers that the readers of Curtis publications were something special. He stressed that the paper's "entire circulation was secured by newspaper advertising, consequently all our readers are peculiarly the very class who read and answer advertisements." He also promised advertisers that if their ads failed to produce results, "we shall neither expect nor solicit a continuance of your patronage."[30] To attract subscribers, Curtis offered the paper at a discount, but only if buyers would sign a statement that they would "read and answer the Advertisements as far as they can conveniently do so." He sought to induce in readers a sense of responsibility toward his publication, toward advertisers and toward buying in general, and he tried to create a sense of guilt in those who didn't buy advertised products. He admitted that advertisements were scorned by many people, but he promised, in language that would later be repeated in promotional material for the Ladies Home Journal, that Tribune and Farmer advertisements "are known to be reliable and may be answered with perfect safety." Advertisers, he told readers, were for the most part manufacturers and producers, and by answering ads, consumers could bypass the middleman. "So great a variety is advertised in our columns that one is almost sure to find something he needs, and having found it, should not hesitate to send for it, not only for his own profit but for ours also, as, by giving this paper at cost, we are obliged to look to advertisers for our profits, and must make it a good medium to secure patronage."[31]

As competition among magazines and newspapers stiffened in the early twentieth century, and as advertisers increasingly sought the most appropriate, as well as the largest, audiences for their products, Curtis Publishing turned to market research to help back up its claims. During his first several years at Curtis, Charles Coolidge Parlin, the manager of the company's Division of Commercial Research, concentrated on understanding the workings and interactions of the manufacturer, the wholesaler, the retailer and the consumer. Between 1911 and 1915, as Parlin conducted studies of agricultural implements, textiles, department stores, automobiles and foodstuffs, though, he gathered anecdotal information about the readership of the Post and Journal.[32] He didn't attempt to conduct an analysis of the readers of the two magazines, but instead talked with many merchants, jobbers and manufacturers around the country about the content of the magazines and their perceptions of its readers. He didn't seem as interested in finding out anything new about the magazines, but rather in confirming their importance to readers and to businesses.[33] "Everybody reads the Post," Parlin wrote, "not only the merchants and their buyers but the girls at the counter." He also wrote that department store managers considered both the Journal and the Post "authorities on quality," and they pored over the magazines to try to pick up tips for their newspaper advertising and to apply to their salesmanship.[34] He later compiled snippets of his interviews in a book for advertising representatives, and he urged representatives to familiarize themselves with the quotes before meeting with potential advertisers.[35]

Parlin conducted the company's first readership study in 1915 and 1916, a mail survey of 31,000 readers of the Country Gentleman, a farm publication that Curtis had purchased a few years before. He followed that, in 1919 and 1920, with a study of the Public Ledger newspaper of Philadelphia. The two reports seem to be among the first full-fledged commercial readership surveys done by a U.S. publisher.[36] Although readership studies of the Post and Journal would later become a regular part of Curtis' research, the direction and control of those two publications were left mostly to their editors in the 1910s and early 1920s.[37] They were vastly successful, and the company seemed to see no need to apply extensive research to successful products. Rather, it used readership studies to try to better understand its two newest publications -- Country Gentleman and the Public Ledger -- publications that, although growing, never met with the immense profitability achieved by the Post and the Journal.[38]

The first Country Gentleman survey looked partly at reader wants, but it was still primarily aimed at gathering information for the advertising department. The purpose of the survey, Parlin wrote, "was to define the characteristics of these readers, their agricultural activities, their habits of buying, and their interest in The Country Gentleman." The questions he asked helped define readers as people with money and land, and the ability to make major capital purchases -- such things as tools and machinery. More than 90% lived within twenty-five miles of a trading center, indicating that they "can be cultivated for the sale of products having a distribution in city stores."[39] A follow-up survey in 1920 sought much the same information, but broke the survey into more geographic areas and identified the brands of products that readers bought. It also sought to determine why non-rural residents purchased Country Gentleman.[40] The next year, the readership survey was disguised as a contest, asking subscribers to submit essays about "Why I subscribe to the Country Gentleman.[41] The company conducted follow-up surveys in 1925, 1926, 1931 and 1940.[42]

The Public Ledger survey didn't seek to define the newspaper's readership -- Curtis did that itself in choosing whom it interviewed[43] -- but was made instead "to formulate concrete suggestions for the betterment" of the editorial product. How, in other words, could the newspaper attract more readers? The survey was made at the request of Ledger editors, and of Cyrus Curtis, who had purchased the newspaper in 1911 in hopes of turning it into a national daily that would help boost the image of Philadelphia. Created as a penny paper in 1836, the Public Ledger had long had a reputation as a conservative newspaper with a devoted readership that was "all quality." Curtis created a companion afternoon paper for the Ledger in 1914, sparing no expense with either, and often operating at a loss in a city newspaper market that was growing in readership but shrinking in the number of competitors.[44] Even as Parlin and his staff formulated a plan for the Ledger newsrooms, though, they grounded their opinions in the workings of advertising, reflecting a shift, which had started in the nineteenth century, toward running newspapers as commercial businesses. The success of the advertising columns depended to a great extent on the success of the editorial columns. If a newspaper couldn't attract readers, it couldn't attract advertisers, and if it didn't have advertisers, it couldn't afford to pay for the editorial product. It seemed probable, Parlin wrote, "that serious losses in advertising or circulation whenever they occur are apt to reflect unsound editorial policies; for, what in the long run is best for one department must be best for all." He advised the Ledger staff to concentrate on three things: becoming a city booster, improving the accuracy of local news, and avoiding sensationalism. He also urged the two newspapers to follow a unified editorial policy and to be less aggressive in taking on public officials and in taking unpopular stands on controversial issues in editorials and news stories. In other words, he offered the same advice to the newspapers that he would have offered to the manufacturer of consumer goods: Provide a quality product consistently and do so without offending buyers. Journalism was a commodity that could be shaped and packaged just like any other commodity. The trick was to win enough market share to achieve profitability. Parlin urged going after the "right" market, the readers with money -- the type of consumers that advertisers most desired. A consistent, conservative and thoughtful editorial policy would do just that, he wrote.[45]

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In late 1913, R.O. Eastman of the breakfast-food company Kellogg's told the Curtis advertising staff of a readership survey he had directed earlier that year. The survey was backed by more than sixty companies that, like Kellogg's, wanted "to know what we are buying." That is, they wanted to know more about magazines' readers, especially how much duplication of circulation there was among the dozens of popular magazines. Eastman compared an advertising purchase to a purchase of coal, which was analyzed to determine its heating and power potential. "We cannot buy advertising that way, unfortunately," he said, "but we ought to work toward that point -- of buying and selling advertising by its heat units, by its power units, by what it will do." The survey Eastman had directed consisted of a house-to-house canvass of 16,894 homes in 209 cities and 40 states. He said that such surveys were just a beginning. "Advertising is a force; a wonderful, powerful, tremendous force, but it has not been weighted, measured or gauged. Not only that; we have not found, we have not devised, the weights and measures or the gauge wherewith to weigh, measure and gauge it. The first rudiments of the thing are before us."[46]

Curtis took the hint from Eastman and other advertisers. The company first provided a detailed breakdown of its circulation in 1919, and through the 1920s and 1930s, it continued to expand its analyses of circulation, correlating Curtis circulation with such things as income tax returns, number of wage earners, value of products sold in an area and the number of passenger cars (both Fords and non-Fords). It mined the 1920 census for information about rent and other indicators of income. It also used its own research to further its claims of superiority over competing publications.[47] In 1922, the company cross-checked the subscriber lists of the Post, the Journal and Country Gentleman from Ohio, Iowa and New York to show that the duplication of subscribers among the magazines was small.[48] Other studies analyzed such things as population, income and circulation, and the circulation methods used by Country Gentleman and other farm papers. That same year, Curtis Publishing surveyed Post readers and asked them to name the other magazines they read, trying to determine how much duplication there was between Post, Journal and Country Gentleman subscribers and subscribers of competing publications.[49] It continued to expand the market analyses of its readership, providing circulation figures by cities and counties, along with consumption information about each. The company also tried to justify the cost of advertising in its publications, showing how a page in the Post or Journal cost more than an ad in other magazines but reached more people, thus offering a lower cost per reader. It also began to compile information to rebut arguments that few women read the Post[50] (although its target audience was still men),[51] and that the magazine had grown so large -- it often exceeded two hundred pages in the late 1920s -- that readership of advertisements had declined.[52] In 1928, the company interviewed residents of more than 28,000 homes in Watertown, New York, to determine not only which magazines people of the community bought, but more important, what magazines they actually read.[53] "Advertisers pay for circulation," the company wrote in 1925. "But any part of the circulation of a magazine that doesn't produce readers is waste. The most profitable magazine to an advertiser is the magazine whose number of readers is highest in proportion to its circulation. That is why advertising volume tends to parallel 'number of readers' rather than 'quantity of circulation.'"[54]

Worrying about the effect of movies, radio, automobiles and competing magazines, Curtis began looking more substantively at readership of the Post in the mid-1920s. In 1925, it sent staff members to four towns, where they called upon mostly men in offices and homes, drugstores and groceries "to obtain something rather definite as to the intensity with which the Post was being read."[55] Two years later, Curtis told its advertising staff that the best way to respond to advertiser doubts about readership was to cite circulation, which had surpassed 3,000,000.[56] The company also railed against competitors who cited "figures showing newsstand sales of ONE issue, with phrases that paint a brilliant picture of reader-hordes, pantingly trampling on each other's necks in their anxiety to buy. ... But for week-in-and-week-out, all-the-year-through DEMAND, we can submit _facts_ that enable us safely to challenge any publication to come within Big-Bertha range of the _Post_."[57] The first broad study of _Post_ readership seems to have been done in 1930, and was followed up in 1936 and 1939.[58] In the 1930 study, Curtis said that certain basic things were known about all publications: total circulation, advertising volume, the class of advertising published, and physical appearance. Several lesser-known things were just as important, though, Curtis argued: how long a magazine was kept in a home, how many readers it had per copy, how readership was broken down by sex and occupation, and whether advertising was read. "There is no standard of measurement by which the biggest factor in publishing may be reckoned -- the extent to which its columns are valued by the reader," the company wrote.[59] Curtis used that survey, as it had earlier surveys, to argue that the _Post_ reached a disproportionate percentage of high-income people and that each issue sold was read by 3.84 people.[60] The next year, it translated that estimate into consumption, saying that the _Post_'s nearly 3,000,000 copies were read each week by 11,400,000 people who ate 239,400,000 meals, had 220,000 birthdays and more than 120,000 anniversaries, marriages or engagements. It prepared for those readers an imaginary meal of oyster stew, rolls, butter, coffee, ice cream and cake, estimating that it would require 60,000,000 oysters, 11,400,000 rolls, 236,000 pounds of butter, 228,000 pounds of coffee, 1,900,000 quarts of ice cream and 570,000 cakes. "Discount this as you will," the company wrote. "It's a market."[61]

In the late 1910s, and then repeatedly through the 1920s, Curtis held up its readership not only as an audience ripe for advertisers, but as a measure of potential product consumption. Parlin and his staff concluded that by taking subscriber addresses and charting them on a map, they could reasonably estimate the areas of a city and county that consumed the most products. "Curtis circulation parallels market opportunity," Parlin told a group of musical instrument manufacturers in 1921.[62] Two years later, in a study titled "Where Do The Best Customers Live? A Study of Curtis Distribution," the company used "representative towns" to show how Curtis publications were distributed to the sections of town with the highest incomes in a small city (Bloomington, Illinois), a county (McClean County, Illinois), a minor city (Indianapolis) and a major city (Chicago). In each case, the company claimed to have more readers in what it called the "Red Zone" -- the most-affluent areas -- than any other magazine. That was not a coincidence, it said, but rather the result of a 25-year sales effort that it called "a perfectly selfish enterprise in every phase of its development. We are anxious to build as large a volume of permanent circulation as we can. We are anxious to have it among people who will patronize our advertisers because our revenue comes from them and they must get their profits before we can get ours."[63] By 1927, more than three hundred manufacturers, including the Corona Typewriter Company, Log Cabin Products, Parker Pen, Carnation Milk Products, Swift & Company, Home Appliance Corporation, Coleman Lamp Company and Lever Brothers, were setting sales quotas based on Curtis circulation.[64]

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The stated intention for mapping circulation was to help manufacturers determine the potential for their products, but the comparisons were also clearly aimed at helping Curtis magazines maintain their reputation as invaluable sales tools. As such, there was a common denominator in nearly all of the company's market studies, as well as its promotional and sales materials: exclusion. Publishers like Curtis were interested in reaching a growing middle class, a middle class that they saw as a homogenous group of white, and usually native-born, Americans whose genetic makeup and inherent abilities had allowed them to rise to prosperity. These elites were seen as different and disparate from the lower classes (the "shawl" class, as Parlin called them). Because of that, Curtis rejected from its target audience both blacks and immigrants from Eastern Europe, the type of people that Parlin considered "worthless elements" and that the company considered to have "lowered tastes."[65] At one point, Curtis even tried to make a case that its readers were truly at the top of the evolutionary ladder. "To the illiterate, the slovenly, the foreign-speaking, the shiftless, the improvident, the appeal [of the Journal] is of no moment -- or, at least, not enough to warrant purchase," the company said in an advertisement in 1912. "Those who can't read, those who won't read, and those who can't afford to read are automatically excluded ..."[66] Money, literacy and education had for years been measures of worth in American society, but the divisiveness of class intensified with the growth of a consumer society at the turn of the century. At the same time that advertisers and publishers sought to tap into and promote a new middle class, they used the methods of social science to exclude and marginalize those who failed to share in the rewards of modern industrial capitalism. "As a whole, the colored peoples have fewer wants, lower standards of living, little material prosperity and are not generally responsive to the same influences as the whites," Curtis wrote in a primer on using census data in 1913.[67] In 1922, the company reiterated its desire to reach "worth-while white families." In developing a market index in 1923, the Advertising Department explained that because among blacks and the foreign-born there was a high percentage of illiteracy "and relatively low average of buying power, it seemed fair to base a market index primarily on native whites; but of the native whites some are ignorant and some lack the means to buy merchandise of their choice. Hence it seemed that perhaps it would be fairest to take one-half of the native whites as an index." In other words, those people who could and did consume regularly were considered among the valuable and the elite. Those who didn't, or couldn't, were considered deficient, unable to improve themselves and their quality of life through spending. The idea was circular: Those who consumed succeeded, and those who succeeded consumed. Those who didn't consume were cast aside like the packaging on the new name-brand products.[68]

The tools of inclusion and exclusion were important to the arguments Curtis Publishing made. By excluding large segments of the population and by defining the primary target audience as families instead of individuals, it could create a smaller target audience and boost the percentage of the audience its magazines reached, thereby giving the impression of higher efficiency. That is, by excluding blacks and the foreign-born, it could reduce the U.S. population in the 1910s from about 100,000,000 individuals to about 15,000,000 native-born white families, only about 9,000,000 of which lived in the cities and suburbs -- what, in 1914, it considered the "accessible" areas of the country. Curtis then cut that 9,000,000 to 4,600,000 million by factoring in incomes, saying that advertisers should target families earning $1,000 or more.[69]

By defining its target audience and by narrowing the range of people it wanted to reach, Curtis used an early form of niche marketing, targeting not the whole of the population but only those most likely to buy a product. A market, in Curtis' terms, was only a fraction of the entire population. "The job is to find out how large that minority is -- and how to reach that fraction without wasting money and effort on the unavailable majority," the company wrote in its house organ in 1914. In marketing a product, it urged manufacturers to ask themselves three questions: How many people could use the product? How many of those people could afford to buy the product? How many of those people could profitably be reached by both advertising and mass distribution? "No product can support intensive selling effort in every nook and cranny of the nation," the company said. "The expense would be prohibitive. The problem is to determine what to reject -- what classes of the population, what geographical sections, what avenues of trade -- then to concentrate selling effort on the rest. This demands, above all, careful study of the population figures."[70]

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Although the company didn't include recent immigrants in the same class as native-born Americans in the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s, its perception of immigrants changed considerably in the early 1920s after the Division of Commercial Research made a study of the Pilsen district of Chicago. Parlin described the Pilsen area as populated by Bohemians, Poles, Magyars, Swedes and other nationalities, "each with a racial consciousness. This district is not only foreign itself; it is surrounded by districts only less foreign than itself." The company sold few magazines in the area, yet the researchers found that Pilsen residents bought just as many nationally advertised canned goods as did residents of such affluent areas as Jackson Park and Evanston. Parlin and his associates reasoned that immigrants first shopped at stores that stocked products from their home countries, but then gravitated toward branded goods to make themselves feel more American. Word about advertised products spread by word of mouth through the streets, Parlin wrote. Someone in a neighborhood might read a magazine and then pass information on to a friend. Or a child or an acquaintance might work in another section of town and bring back news about products they had seen others use. "Upon the mind of the American, accustomed every hour to learn from the printed page, the manufacturer's message quickly registers an impression. Upon the mind of the laborer, accustomed to heeding only verbal orders, the spoken word is potent. The foreign laborer is trained to heed what people say. He buys, for the most part, what someone tells him to buy. The advertising medium that reaches him is the spoken recommendation of his neighbors."[71]

The key observation, regardless of the explanation, was that immigrants did indeed buy. The people in the foreign districts were still discounted to a great degree, defined in disparaging terms, in part because they didn't read Curtis magazines. They couldn't be valued nearly as much as those in the affluent sections of town who were loyal subscribers. The old biases and fears about foreigners didn't disappear when Curtis Publishing discovered that they actually bought consumer goods, but in the eyes of Parlin and his associates, immigrants were seen in a slightly better light. They consumed, and better yet, they consumed advertised goods. That, in Curtis' view, made them a little less foreign and a little more American.

Curtis' definition of a "trickle-down" market extended beyond the Pilsen district of Chicago and was a key element of its definition of rural America in the early twentieth century. Like other publishers around the country, Curtis began to devote increasing attention to rural areas in the 1910s and 1920s. Mostly neglected in favor of city markets before then, rural America was increasingly seen as offering the greatest potential for sales and representing, in many respects, the true national market. "The lifting of the farm market to a new plane of earning and to a better appreciation of good merchandise seems to us the most encouraging factor not only for 1920 but for years to come," Parlin said in 1920.[72] To better understand the dynamics of rural America, Curtis sent a team of more than a dozen people from its advertising department to Sabetha, Kansas, in 1920. Sabetha was chosen as a "typical" agricultural community from among hundreds of "progressive" communities that Curtis considered in Kansas, Nebraska, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Missouri. The Curtis representatives visited all the businesses and all but twenty of the 1,321 homes in a 144-mile radius of Sabetha. Through interviews and observations, the company assembled a broad study of consumption, one that tried to understand the importance of such things as merchandising, national advertising, community leaders, brand names and the automobile on purchases in a small farm town. Still at the center, though, were Curtis magazines. In writing the study, Parlin concluded that nine out of ten of the community leaders, whose opinions were seen as essential to the spread of any consumer product, read Curtis magazines. The Post, the Journal and Country Gentleman reached these upper-class people -- people who were "materially above the average" and had such things as indoor bathrooms, vacuum cleaners and automobiles. These types of people not only read the Curtis magazines, but they purchased or asked for the products advertised in the magazines. Others in the community, he said, looked to these leaders as role models and usually emulated their purchasing decisions. "The three dimensions of Curtis circulation -- large numbers, quality homes, and superior attention -- enable a manufacturer through the pages of the Curtis publications [illegible] shape the thoughts of readers and dealers, and through them, of the masses who imitate," Parlin wrote. In other words, Curtis publications didn't reach everyone, but they did reach the right people. For Curtis, that meant readers who had influence in the community and who considered advertised products to be of higher quality.[73] In other words, readers who would spread consumption.

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In 1913, Curtis Publishing told its advertisers that magazine circulation had three key elements: the appeal of its editorial matter; the manner in which the publication was sold;

and the standard to which the advertisements were held.[74] By 1920, Parlin had revised that formula. Magazine circulation still had three facets. Parlin likened it to a cube, with the three dimensions made up of the size of the circulation, the wealth of the readers, and the attention that readers gave the publication.[75] The new theme was similar to the old, but reflected the growing recognition and importance of readers. Readers no longer provided the primary means of monetary support for a publication, but they provided something far more important for a twentieth century publisher: a mass market. Through its research, Curtis shaped the image of its audience to appeal to manufacturers of consumer goods. It stripped the individuality from the readers of its magazines, reducing them to composite statistics of income, education and location -- characteristics intended to portray them as eager buyers.

In its research and in its promotional material, Curtis Publishing portrayed its magazines as both "mass" and "class" publications. That is, to companies such as soap manufacturers, which wanted to reach as wide an audience as possible, Curtis could stress the millions of readers its magazines reached -- the largest audiences available during the first four decades of the twentieth century.[76] To the makers of pianos or automobiles, who had fewer products to sell and who needed to reach people with money, Curtis stressed the "quality" of its circulation -- an affluent group of readers who paid full price for the magazines, responded to advertising and bought brand-name products. In both cases, it used readership studies and statistics from Commercial Research and the federal government to try to prove to manufacturers and advertising agencies that Curtis publications were the best medium for their advertising dollars because they reached the people most likely to buy. In doing so, it carved a niche in the mass market while maintaining its reputation as the publisher of the pre-eminent mass-market periodicals.

Readership research emerged during the budding consumer culture of the early twentieth century, and the commercial values that developed during that era helped shape publications' perceptions of readers. Although magazines and newspapers today try to distance decisions about editorial matter from the outward commercialism of advertising and circulation, the ties are as inextricable as they were at the turn of the century. Practical handbooks and trade journals tell editors to think of the reader. Editors encourage reporters to write for the reader. Today, with readership dwindling, "reader-friendly" has become a buzzword for an amorphous list of content, design and writing characteristics that every newspaper and magazine is encouraged to follow. Newspapers and magazines alike rely on readership research to learn about their shortcomings and to shape and target content to such groups as "occasional readers," "potential readers" and "non-readers." The wants of the reader have become one of the guiding principles -- if not the guiding principle -- of late-twentieth century journalism. Even as journalists attempt to distance themselves from their co-workers in the advertising department, though, they continue to follow practices and styles rooted in commercialism. The readership survey has been chief among them. Although such surveys have been used to help make decisions about editorial contents, the surveys themselves had their beginnings in advertising, among publishers like Curtis, who sought to enhance the value of their magazines and newspapers by providing detailed information about readership to their all-important advertisers. As readers increasingly became consumers, a publication's readership increasingly became a commodity -- a product to be defined, studied and sold.

Notes

1. "Thirty Years of Service," Obiter Dicta, No. 5, November-December 1913, pp. 3-5.

2. Curtis wasn't the only publication to make such claims. Good Housekeeping, for instance, portrayed itself as a "magazine whose advertising pages, as well as its editorial pages, keep 'clean company,' wins the confidence of its readers -- and, therefore, results for its advertisers." It guaranteed the products advertised within its pages and set up the Good Housekeeping Institute to test those products starting about 1909. Like Curtis' policy of "censorship," the Good Housekeeping stamp of approval was intended to make readers more comfortable with the magazine and its advertising and to build a trust so that readers would be more apt to buy the products advertised. "In guaranteeing its advertising pages to readers," the magazine said, "Good Housekeeping Magazine guarantees reader-confidence to advertisers." See "Clean Company," Printers' Ink, July 13, 1911, p. 16; and "Waldo Joins New York 'Tribune,'" PI, Aug. 20, 1914, p. 12.

3. Selling Forces (Philadelphia: Curtis Publishing Company, 1913), pp. 217-218, 241-244. The same sort of reasoning resonates in Curtis' house organ from 1913 to 1915, and in its advertising and promotional material from the 1880s into the 1920s. See, for example, various advertisements in Curtis Scrapbook, c. 1880-1890. Curtis Publishing Company Papers, Special Collections, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania (Hereafter, CP), Box 179; "The Treatment of Cuts," Obiter Dicta 1 (May 1913), pp. 9-12; as well as such advertisements in Printers' Ink as "The Value of the Fittest," PI, May 30, 1912, p. 23; "Natural Selection," PI, July 11, 1912, p. 21; "160 Thousand Letters," PI, May 7, 1914, p. 21; and "Where Trade Is Brisk," PI, May 27, 1915, pp. 17-20. Likewise, in 1905, Calkins and Holden used the Journal as an example of a publication that was read by a "discriminating class." See Earnest Elmo Calkins and Ralph Holden, Modern Advertising (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), pp. 71-72.

4. George Horace Lorimer, "Business Policies of the Saturday Evening Post," contained in "Dope Book," ca. 1920-1923, CP, Box 130. The unbound pages in the box are not numbered.

5. "A List of Authors," PI, June 4, 1914, p. 21.

6. "The Country Gentleman," advertisement, Advertising & Selling (October 1912), pp. 12-13.

7. "The Political Influence of the Public Ledger," PI, June 5, 1913, p. 45; "The Public Ledger Does Not Believe ..." PI, Sept. 18, 1913, p. 30.

8. "Ninth Annual Conference of the Advertising Department of Curtis Publishing Company," January 7-10, 1911, p. 336. CP, Box 16.

9. "Tenth Annual Conference of the Advertising Department of The Curtis Publishing Company," Oct. 29-31, 1913, pp. 38-39. CP, Box 17. All three companies produced cars that were among the most-expensive sold at the time, and all three were struggling with sales at the time. See Charles Coolidge Parlin and Henry Sherwood Youker, "Automobiles," Vol. A, 1914. CP, Box 28.

10. Edward S. Jordan, "A Strictly 'Show-Me' Basis," PI, July 20, 1911, pp. 24-26.

11. As he did his market studies, Parlin talked with several businessmen who complained about duplication of circulation. For instance, the proprietor of E.S. Paul & Co., a dry goods and department store in Lewiston, Maine, said: "When a manufacturer sends you a list of the people he reaches -- Saturday Evening Post so many, Ladies' Home Journal so many, Everybody's so many, etc., and then adds these up for a total, that is bosh -- those are duplicates -- e.g., I take both the Post and Ladies' Home Journal." See Charles Coolidge Parlin, "Department Store Lines: Textiles," Vol. B, 1912, p. 358. CP, Boxes 21 and 22.

12. Curtis' Saturday Evening Post and Ladies' Home Journal dominated the market, in both circulation and advertising revenue, from about the turn of the century through the 1930s, and have been widely noted for its importance in American journalism. Tebbel and Zuckerman call the Post "the bible of middle-class America" in the early twentieth century. Mott calls Cyrus Curtis a "bold and brilliant advertiser and promoter" and credits Curtis' willing to advertise for much of the circulation success of his magazines. Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years, 1690 to 1940 (New York: Macmillan, 1947), pp. 512, 591, 655-659; Mott, A History of American Magazines (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), Vol. 2, pp. 432-436; Vol. 4, pp. 671-716, 536-555; John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, The Magazine in America, 1741-1990 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 73-97.

13. See, for instance, David Paul Nord, "Working Class Readers: Family, Community, and Reading in Late Nineteenth-Century America." Communication Research 13 (April 1986): 156-181; Nord, "A Republican Literature: Magazine Reading and Readers in Late-Eighteenth Century New York," in Reading in America, ed. Cathy N. Davidson (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989);

Michael Denning, Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America. London: Verso, 1987; Janice Radway, Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarch, and Popular Literature. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991; and Lawrence W. Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988; and Richard D. Brown, Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

14. William Leach, Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture (New York: Pantheon, 1993). Between 1909 and 1929, the U.S. population increased about a third, from nearly 90,500,000 to just over 121,000,000. During the same time, circulation of weekly periodicals rose by 73.5%, to 34,495,000, and the amount spent on such consumable items as food, beverages, clothing, personal care, furniture, fuel and utilities rose 174%, to $78,952,000. See Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington: Bureau of Census, 1958).

15. Gerald J. Baldasty, The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

16. Warren I. Susman, Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century (New York: Pantheon, 1984).

17. William R. Taylor, In Pursuit of Gotham: Culture and Commerce in New York (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), Chapter 5.

18. Richard Wrightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears, eds., The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980 (New York: Pantheon, 1983); Fox and Lears, eds., The Power of Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

19. Jan Cohn, Creating America: George Horace Lorimer and The Saturday Evening Post (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989).

20. Mott, A History of American Magazines. Sketches of the Post and Journal appear in Vol. 4, pp. 536-555, 671-716.

21. Richard W. Pollay, "Thank the Editors for the Buyological Urge: American Magazines, Advertising and the Promotion of the Consumer Culture, 1920-1980," in Marketing in the Long Run: Proceedings of the Second Workshop on Historical Research in Marketing, ed. Stanley C. Hollander and Terence Nevett (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1985).

22. Christopher P. Wilson, "The Rhetoric of Consumption: Mass Market Magazines and the Demise of the Gentle Reader, 1880-1920," in The Culture of Consumption, pp. 40-64.

23. Tebbel and Zuckerman, The Magazine in America, 1741-1990, pp. 81-97, 141-181.

24. Peggy J. Kreshel, "Toward a Cultural History of Advertising Research: A Case Study of J. Walter Thompson, 1908-1925," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1989; also see Kreshel, "Advertising Research in the Pre-Depression Years: A Cultural History," Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising 15 (Spring 1993): 59-75; "John B. Watson at J. Walter Thompson: The Legitimation of 'Science' in Advertising," Journal of Advertising 19 (1990): 49-59; and "The 'Culture' of J. Walter Thompson, 1915-1925," Public Relations Review 16 (Fall 1990): 80-93.

25. See, for instance, Milton J. Blair, "Where Do The Best Customers Live? A Study of Curtis Distribution" (Curtis Chicago office, May 1, 1923). CP, Box 81; and "Growth of Incomes," Curtis "Dope Book."

26. "Prosperous Philadelphia," advertisement, PI, Dec. 2, 1915, pp. 57-68; "A Christmas Pudding for Advertisers," advertisement, PI, Dec. 16, 1915, pp. 53-56; "Two New Subways in Philadelphia," advertisement, PI, Dec. 23, 1915, p. 47; untitled advertisement, PI, Aug. 19, 1915, pp. 52-53; "What gives value to advertising?" advertisement, PI, Nov. 18, 1915, pp. 42-43.

27. "Condensed Report of Advertising Conference," Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia, 1915, pp. 6-8. CP, Box 18.

28. Selling Forces (Philadelphia: Curtis Publishing Company, 1913), pp. 225-241; William V. Alexander to Mr. E.G.W. Dietrich, Feb. 29, 1904. CP, Box 2; "Pattern Service," Curtis Bulletin 32 (Nov. 7, 1923). CP, Box 158, Folder 176; Pollay, "Thank the Editors"; Wilson, "The Rhetoric of Consumption."

29. "Condensed Report of Advertising Conference," pp. 21-22.

30. See various clippings and advertisements in a Curtis Scrapbook, pp. 324-340.

31. Curtis Scrapbook, pp. 324-340.

32. See, for instance, Charles Coolidge Parlin, "Agricultural Implements," 1911. CP, Box 19; Parlin, "Department Store Lines: Textiles," Vol. B; Parlin and Henry Sherwood Youker, "Automobiles," vol. 1B, 1914. CP, Box 30; and Parlin and Youker, "Food Products and Household Supplies," Vols. B and C, 1915. CP, Boxes 39, 40.

33. In *Selling Forces* in 1913, Curtis said that 3,000 merchants were asked by an impartial investigator (presumably Parlin): "What periodicals are mentioned most by your customers when referring to advertised goods?" Of those respondents, 679 said the Journal, 675 said the Post, and many said both. See *Selling Forces*, p. 241.

34. "Tenth Annual Conference," p. 36; "Department Store Lines: Textiles," Vol. B, pp. 131-136; "Attitudes Toward *The Ladies Home Journal* and *The Saturday Evening Post* as Advertising Mediums," 1916. CP, Box 45.

35. Many merchants considered Curtis publications required reading because they knew that their customers read the magazines and would begin asking for the products they saw advertised. "I don't want to flatter your publication," an Ohio merchant told Parlin, "but somehow the people have such confidence in what they see advertised in the columns of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Post*, that we have to carry them. I take both publications and read the 'ads,' for I know that after a thing has appeared two or three times on one of these magazines it will be called for." A drapery buyer for a large department store considered the *Journal* "a necessity next only to the Bible. The customers are very well educated on quality now, and unless a salesman thoroughly understands his job, the customer will know more about it than he will. ..."

36. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine when the first readership study was done. In most cases, the documents were confidential, and would not have been widely distributed outside the companies that had done the research. Both Leo Bogart and David Nord estimate that newspapers began doing audience studies in the 1930s. The Curtis surveys were done in the 1910s. Even so, others conducted readership research before Curtis. Walter Dill Scott of Northwestern University surveyed Chicago daily newspaper readers for his book *Psychology of Advertising* in 1908. In 1911, R.O. Eastman of Kellogg's conducted his first study of magazine readers -- a post card survey for about fifty members of the Association of National Advertising Managers. See Leo Bogart, *Press and Public: Who Reads What, When, Where, and Why in American Newspapers*, 2nd ed. (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1989), p. 76; Nord, "The Children of Isaiah Thomas: Notes on the Historiography of Journalism and of the Book in America," *Occasional Papers in the History of the Book in American Culture* 1 (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society), p. 19; Lawrence C. Lockley, "Notes on the History of Marketing Research," *Journal of Marketing* 14 (April 1950): 733-736; C.S. Duncan, *Commercial Research* (New York: Macmillan, 1919), pp. 106-109; Robert Bartels, *The Development of Marketing Thought* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, 1962); W.D. Scott, *The Psychology of Advertising* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Scott, 1908).

37. Although no readership study of the Journal was done until the 1920s, the Curtis advertising department was directed in 1915 to analyze the magazine's editorial correspondence, presumably to gain more-specific information about readers. See "Condensed Report of Advertising Conference," p. 13.

38. Goulden says Country Gentleman was profitable for only twelve of the forty-five years Curtis owned it. The company killed the publication in the 1950s. He also says advertiser support of the Public Ledger never kept up with the spending on an extensive and expensive worldwide news organization that Curtis had formed. See Joseph C. Goulden, The Curtis Caper (New York: G.P. Putnam Sons, 1965), pp. 36, 80.

39. "An Inquiry Among Readers of the Country Gentleman," Vol. A, 1916. CP, Box 46.

40. "The Country Gentleman Questionnaire," 1920. CP, Box 68.

41. See "Announcement in the Country Gentleman," Curtis "Dope Book." The announcement is in the form of a letter dated April 29, 1921. The contest offered $50 for the best letter, $25 for second place, $10 for the next five, and $5 for the next ten. The company received 4,463 replies, which it tabulated by sex, number written by typewriter, occupation, and features preferred.

42. Digests of Principal Research Department Studies, Vols. I and II (Philadelphia: Curtis Publishing Company, 1946). CP, Box 119.

43. The Public Ledger survey was done solely by interview. Company representatives conducted more than nine hundred interviews in the Philadelphia region during 1919 and 1920. The most extensive interviews were done with businessmen, political figures, labor leaders, professors and teachers, and women considered to have influence. Brief interviews were done with newspaper sellers and distributors.

44. "The Public Ledger Report," Vol. B, 1920; "Daily Newspaper Investigations," PI, July 6, 1904, pp. 1-7. A reprint of the article can be found in John M. Hein, ed., "Notes and References Relating to the History of Philadelphia Newspapers," (Philadelphia: Free Library, 1937); Edward W. Bok, A Man From Maine (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), pp. 197-212; Oswald Garrison Villard, The Disappearing Daily (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1969; reprint of 1946 edition), pp. 218-228; Elwyn B. Robinson, "The Public Ledger: An Independent Newspaper," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 64 (January 1940): 43-55; Kenneth Stewart and John Tebbel, Makers of Modern Journalism (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952), pp. 199-216; "Public Ledger Ends Career of 98 Years," Philadelphia Inquirer?, 1934, Inquirer clip file, "Public Ledger"; "Curtis's Newspaper Dynasty Grew from Humble Beginning," Evening Bulletin, Jan. 6, 1942,

Inquirer clip file, "Public Ledger"; "Cyrus Curtis In Daily Field," The Fourth Estate, Jan. 4, 1913, p. 2; "New Daily Paper In Philadelphia," The Fourth Estate, Sept. 12, 1914, p. 3.

45. "The Public Ledger Report," Vol. B, pp. 308-359.

46. "Tenth Annual Conference," pp. 13-36. Selling Forces, pp. 210-213.

47. See, for example, "Retail Dry Goods and Ready-to-Wear"; "Department Store Centers," "Market for Electrical Merchandise," "Rental Analysis in the City of Chicago"; and "Market Opportunity," all in the Curtis "Dope Book."

48. Curtis said that 4.9% of readers subscribed to both the Post and Country Gentleman and 5.9% subscribed to both the Journal and Country Gentleman. See "Duplication of Circulation Among Post and Country Gentleman Subscribers," and "Duplication of Circulation Among Journal and Country Gentleman Subscribers," Curtis "Dope Book."

49. "City A and City B: A Story of Circulation Based on an Every Home Survey of Two Cities," 1925-1926. CP, Box 84.

50. "Women's Interest in the Saturday Evening Post," Curtis Bulletin 88 (April 22, 1927). CP, Box 161, Folder 209.

51. "Industrial Executives and Technical Men Prefer the Post," Curtis Bulletin 98 (1928). CP, Box 162, Folder 218.

52. "Dear Mr. Parlin"; "Will an Advertisement Pull Better in a Large Issue or a Small One?" Curtis Bulletin 91 (July 22, 1927). CP, Box 161, Folder 212.

53. Digests of Principal Research Department Studies, Vol. II, p. 11.

54. "The 'Number of Readers,' in Proportion to Circulation," Curtis Bulletin 60 (April 8, 1925). CP, Box 160, Folder 190.

55. "The Reading Habits of Saturday Evening Post Readers," Curtis Bulletin 68 (Dec. 25, 1925). CP, Box 160, Folder 195. The survey was conducted in Boston, Springfield, Mass., Hartford, Conn., and Westchester County, New York. Of the sixty-one people interviewed, 35% said they spent considerably more time reading the Post than they had five years earlier, about half said they spent the same amount of time, and 14% said less. The average time spent with each issue was about 1 1/2 hours, with at least 15 minutes on ad pages; 60% said they read the ad pages first.

56. "Reader Responsiveness," Curtis Bulletin 94 (Oct. 28, 1927). CP, Box 161, Folder 214.

57. "The Demand for The Post," Curtis Bulletin 106 (December 1928). CP, Box 162, Folder 226.

58. Digests of Principal Research Department Studies, (Philadelphia: Curtis Publishing Company, 1946), Vol. II, pp. 31, 72, 124-125.

59. The Saturday Evening Post (Philadelphia: Curtis Publishing Co., c. 1930). CP, Box 140.

60. For instance, a group made up of executives, professionals, merchants and shopkeepers, and retired persons accounted for 69.62% of readers but only 11.89% of the population. A second group made up of salesmen, skilled trades, office clerical, agriculture and students accounted for 28.89% of readers and 54.55% of the population. A third group of public service employees, unskilled labor, domestic and personal service occupations accounted for on 1.49% of readers and 33.56% of the population.

61. "Looking Ahead," typescript, c. 1931. CP, Box 140.

62. Digests of Principal Research Department Studies, Vols. I and II; Charles Coolidge Parlin, "Music Master" address, typescript, c. 1921. Curtis papers, Box 148, Folder 30.

63. Blair, "Where Do The Best Customers Live?"

64. Parlin, "Music Master" address; Parlin, untitled address, January 1926; Parlin, untitled address, Common Brick Association, typescript, 1925. CP, Box 149, Folder 56; Parlin, untitled address, American Management Association, typescript, April 23, 1925. Box 149, Folder 54; "Some Manufacturers Who Use the Curtis Quota Plan," Bulletin 61 (April 22, 1925). "Companies Using Sales Quotas," Bulletin 91, July 22, 1927.

65. Parlin, "Department Store Lines: Textiles," Vol. B, pp. 35-38; "What gives value to advertising?"

66. "The Value of the Fittest," advertisement, PI, May 30, 1912, p. 23; "Natural Selection," advertisement, PI, July 11, 1912, p. 21.

67. Blacks recognized this economic prejudice and attempted to act on it around the turn of the century. August Meier notes that some black leaders thought that if blacks could achieve high economic status and high moral character, whites would recognize their worth and allow them their rights and participation in the political process. During Reconstruction, elite leaders, who had some financial stability, stressed political and civil rights and the importance of education. Economic improvement was a lower priority. The masses, who had little economically, sought land

ownership, education and politics, in that order -- the reverse order of what the elite sought. See August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969), pp. 8-15, 25-35.

68. Parlin, untitled address to Western Company, typescript, Feb. 16, 1923. CP, Box 149, Folder 42; "Population Reduced to its Lowest Terms -- An Estimate," Obiter Dicta 9 (December 1914), pp. 3-13; Parlin, "Department Store Lines: Textiles," vol. B, pp. 44-56; Parlin, The Merchandising of Textiles (Philadelphia: National Dry Goods Association, n.d.). CP, Box 150, Folder 109; "Sales Quotas and City Markets," Curtis Bulletin 32 (November 7, 1923). CP, Box 158, Folder 176.

69. "Population Reduced to its Lowest Terms -- An Estimate."

70. "Population Reduced to its Lowest Terms -- An Estimate."

71. Parlin, untitled address to Western Company, typescript, Feb. 16, 1923. CP, Box 149, Folder 42; Parlin, "National Advertising and How It Fits in With Local Advertising for the Jobber and Dealer," typescript, June 4, 1924. Folder 49 (A published version of the speech appeared in The Reminder, a monthly publication of the Electrical Supply Jobbers Association.); Parlin, "Address," typescript, May 5, 1924. Folder 47. Also see various charts and information in "Dope Book."

72. Digests of Principal Research Department Studies, vol. 1 (1911-1925), pp. 2-3; and vol. 2 (1926-1940), p. 2. Curtis papers, Box 118; Parlin, Basic Facts of Prosperity in 1920 (Philadelphia: Curtis Publishing Company, 1920), Curtis papers, Box 148, Folder 13. Also see, for example, "Retail Business, Sabetha, Kansas," which breaks sales down for 1919, 1921, 1922; "Curtis Circulation" shows map of Sabetha, along with each residence and who subscribes; "Growth of Incomes," which charts income growth based on income tax returns from 1915 to 1921; and "Farms and Farm Wealth," which broke down the country into regions and states and charted income and assets. All are from the Curtis "Dope Book."

73. "An Agricultural Trading Center: A report on some facts of national significance gleaned in a survey of Sabetha, Kansas," 1920. CP, Box 63.

74. Selling Forces, pp. 217-218.

75. "An Agricultural Trading Center," p. 56; "The Public Ledger Report," Vol. B.

76. See Selling Forces, pp. 210-218.